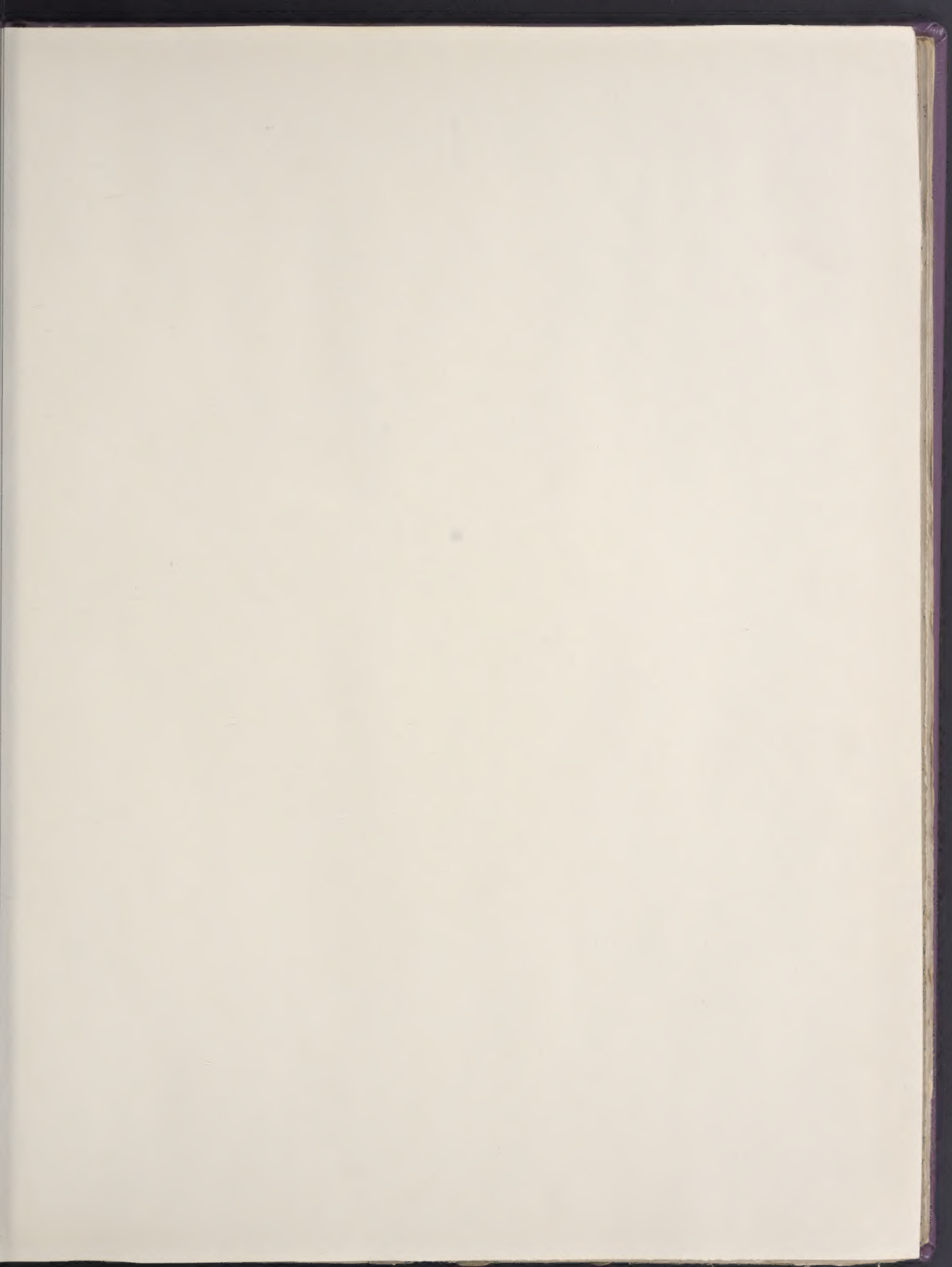




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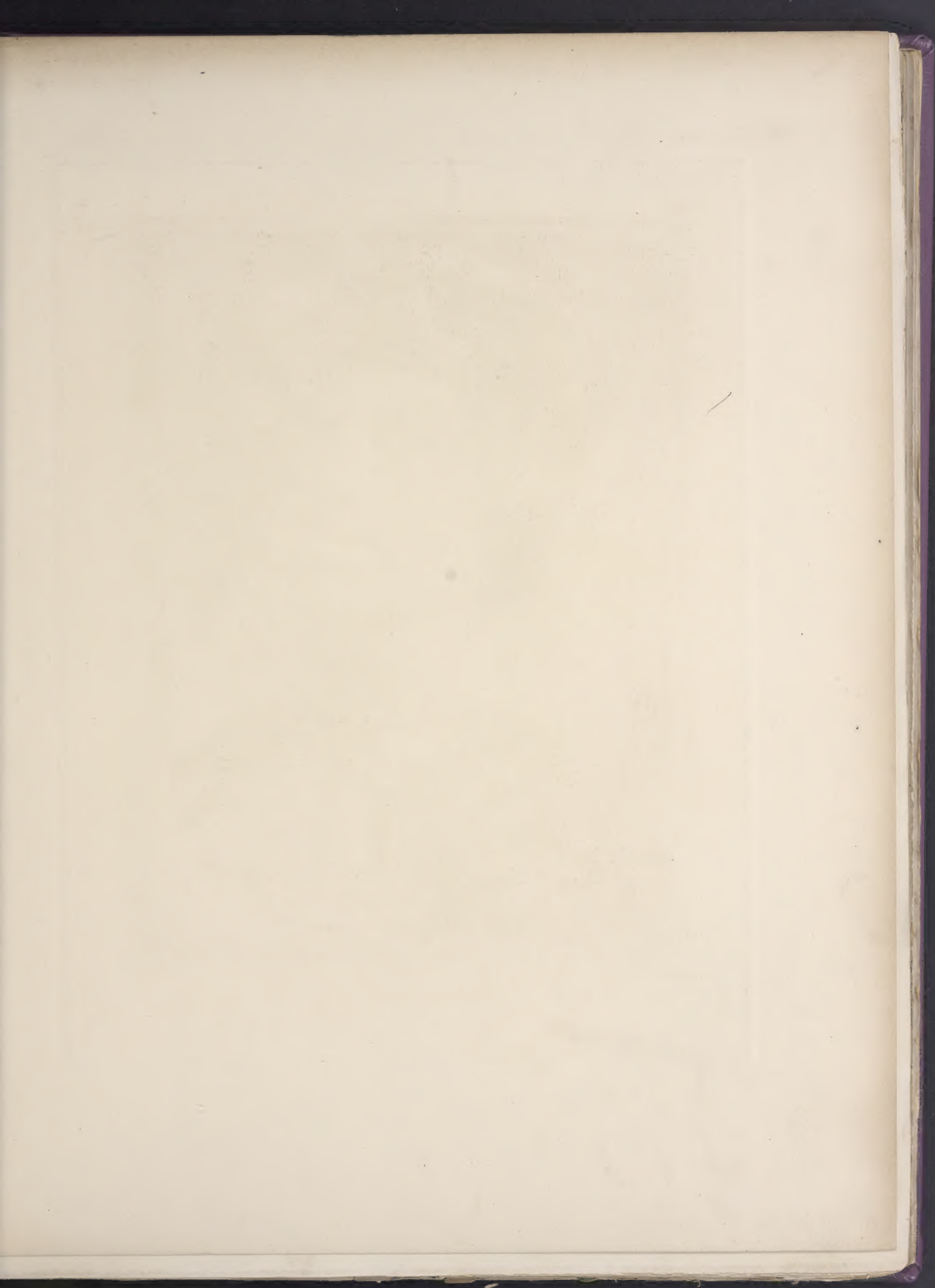


# PINTORICCHIO

(BERNARDINO DI BETTO OF PERUGIA)









*Alinari, Photo*



# PINTORICCHIO

(BERNARDINO DI BETTO OF PERUGIA)

HIS LIFE, WORK, AND TIME

BY

CORRADO RICCI

DIRECTOR OF THE BRERA, MILAN

FROM THE ITALIAN BY

FLORENCE SIMMONDS

WITH FIFTEEN PLATES IN COLOUR, SIX PLATES IN PHOTOGRAVURE  
AND MANY FULL-PAGE AND TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON

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1882



#### PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THERE is perhaps no Italian artist, apart from the three or four supreme masters, whose work and personality are of greater interest than those of Pintoricchio. As a master of decoration, he takes a place hardly beneath Mantegna. And if he lacks the depth of emotion, the psychological insight, and the passionate vitality of the greatest creators, few painters have surpassed him in quaint and graceful fancy, in richness of accessories and ornament, in the skilful distribution of animated groups of figures. In addition to all this, he is the first painter of the Umbrian school who shows a strong and lively sense of character, thus forming, as it were, the connecting link between the art of Perugino and that of Raphael's later period. He gathered together the qualities that had gradually developed for a century in Umbrian painting, fused them, and brought them to a culmination of splendour that makes the epithet "princely" that has been applied to him most happily descriptive of his art. The disciple of Perugino, he naturally challenges comparison with this master, and it is a comparison of which he can stand the test. "Pintoricchio," said Morelli, "is to my mind less conscious, more fresh and racy than Perugino, and does not so often fatigue us by monotony, and that conventional sweetness which, especially in the productions of his last twenty years, make Pietro positively wearisome."

The *protégé* of successive Popes during the most splendid and profligate period of the Italian Renaissance, the youth chosen by Perugino to collaborate with him in the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, the author of such masterpieces of decorations as the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican, and the Cathedral Library at Siena, is a figure whose history invites attention and curiosity no less than his art. The scenes among which he lived, the vivid and sumptuous beauty of the Italian cities of his day, live for us still in his marble and gold, his multi-coloured cavalcades, his groups of young gallants, the silks and brocades of his regal draperies. To reconstruct the life of such an artist is incidentally to paint a picture of the Perugia of the superb and ill-starred Baglioni, and the Rome of the Borgias.

No adequate life of Pintoricchio has yet been attempted, though since the time of Vasari—who for some reason shows a certain animus against the painter, and treats him with scanty justice—a great variety of studies have appeared, dealing in the main with his isolated works at Spello, Rome, Siena, &c., while Morelli's highly important critical analysis of his art has prepared the way for a final appreciation. The restoration of the famous Borgia rooms in the Vatican, and their re-opening to the public in March 1897, under the auspices of Leo XIII., gave a further stimulus to public interest in the master, and prepared the ground for the exhaustive critical and biographical study of his life and times now completed by Dr. Corrado Ricci.

This book has been written at the request of the English publisher, the English and French translations having been made from the author's original manuscript which has never been published. The work, in the two languages, appears simultaneously in London, New York, and Paris.



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## ERRATA

- Page 12 line 21, for "Monaco" read "Munich."  
" 13 line 9, for "carved" read "curved."  
" 38 line 37, for "plaits" read "herring-bone."

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*Alinari, photo.*

PREDELLA OF THE GREAT ALTAR-PIECE BY PINTORICCHIO  
IN THE PERUGIA GALLERY

## CHAPTER I

### IN UMBRIA

THE UMBRIAN PAINTERS—FIORENZO DI LORENZO—THE BEAUTY OF THE DISTRICT—PERUGIA IN  
THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—PINTORICCHIO'S YOUTHFUL WORKS

WHEN Bernardino di Betto, afterwards called Il Pintoricchio, was a lad just entering on his apprenticeship, various masters of the art of painting flourished in his birthplace, Perugia, and at Foligno, some of them artists of considerable importance. The eldest of these was Buonfigli. Born about 1420, he had, in the middle of the fifteenth century, been in the service of Nicholas V. at Rome, with Tommaso da Foligno. Others were Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, his junior by several years, and the illustrious Pietro Vannucci della Pieve, called Il Perugino, coetaneous with him. Meanwhile, not far off, in the town of Topino, on the confines of La Sabina, Pier Antonio Messastri and Nicolò di Liberatore worked with others of less note. Though they laboured in close vicinity to one another, and among the same gracious natural surroundings, these painters were by no means all of equal importance, far less of equal aptitudes. Buonfigli, an eclectic of but little sentiment, gathered the elements of his art from various Tuscan and Umbrian sources, his personal initiative being confined to a certain sense of exterior beauty, evidenced in his peculiarly accurate and realistic rendering of architecture, as may be noted in the frescoes of the Palazzo at Perugia

A

and in the banner of S. Bernardino. Nicolò di Liberatore; erroneously called l'Alunno, grafted on to the native elements admiration for and imitation of the works of Benozzo Gozzoli, to be seen in all their splendour at Montefalco. Together with the ruggedness that distinguishes his work, we note his possession of a quality lacking in Buonfigli—that of sentiment, which he sometimes carries to the verge of caricature. In his hands landscape backgrounds became ampler, and it was his habit to stud them with anecdotic groups of small figures. His decoration is rich and gorgeous with detail in his elaborate altar-pieces, of exquisite delicacy in frames and *predelle*, while in architectural backgrounds he revived that love of splendour which characterised his predecessors, Gentile da Fabriano and Ottaviano Nelli, whose sweetness, however, is more fully sustained by Pier Antonio Messastri.

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, of whom we shall have to speak rather more fully, is conspicuous among these artists; but neither he, nor any other among them, came near to Perugino in depth of expression, beauty of form and colour, and above all, in the perfect harmony of his art with the natural scenery of Umbria, luminous, but mournful and lonely, so far removed, in its lofty calm and delicate outline, alike from the tumultuous unrest of northern Italy, and the rugged wildness of the southern regions. In Umbria there is not a single large and populous city. Its inhabitants seem almost to have feared a multitudinous community, as likely to disturb the peace of a contemplative life, rapt in thought and craving repose. Diaphanous horizons threaded by mountains without any over-violent accidents of rock and crag, silent valleys dotted with little towns, villages, and hamlets, each one of them boasting its saint or its artist; long reaches of blue waters, on the banks of which the memory of past historic events still hover—this is the aspect of Umbria, an aspect full of gentle melancholy as the first awakening of the soul, or as the speech that ripples on the lips of its inhabitants.

Scarcely had the dawn of civilisation flushed the darkness of the Middle Ages when in Umbria the first of those retreats was founded where men might find a refuge from the bloody struggles of the times and live "*contenti de' pensier contemplativi*."\*

Then there arose on the hills overlooking the Adriatic, at the foot of Catria and of Ansciano, and on the shady banks of the Tiber, "*i chiostri che soleano rendere fertilemente al cielo*."† And, when wrath and strife waxed fiercer within the cities, and these hurled themselves one against the other unceasingly in the interest of Guelf and Ghibelline, when violence spread in the Church, in the communes, crushed by dawning or increasing tyranny, and in families, when it was the ambition of each individual to have his share "*nel sangue e nell'aver di piglio*,"‡ lo! from this heart of Italy sprang forth the patient and inspired example of self-sacrifice, humility, and pardon; and from the fertile coast of Subiaco, the deserted islands of Thrasimene, and the almost inaccessible crags of Montefeltro came the summons to love all created things, the proclamation of fraternity with all that is great and lovely in nature, lowly and wretched in humanity, the injunction to turn the right cheek also to him that smiteth the left, the acclamation of sun and fire as our brothers, the moon, water, and death as our sisters.

\* "Content in contemplation."—DANTE. † "Those cloisters that are wont to yield rich fruits to Heaven."—DANTE.

‡ "In blood and in booty."—DANTE.

This sense of abnegation; pity, and love S. Francis shed upon human depravity, like balm on an ugly wound, flowed indeed from his own soul; but this had first attuned itself to the benign peace and profundity of the world surrounding it. Hence poets, indignant at the eternal contrast between their unattainable ideals and the natural imperfection of things and creatures, have felt the soothing influences of this happy region as they have felt those of no other spot on earth.

Dante, in whose poem the free and prosperous life of the Italy of his day is so fully mirrored, after having poured out biting invectives against nearly every Italian city, after having passed disdainfully through the turmoil and the partisan fury of political centres, regained his calm in Umbria, and there sought inspiration for the most sublime cantos of his *Paradiso*, lingering over broad and serene descriptions of landscape, which evoked the gentle memory of some saint in every mountain and every plain.

Byron, in Childe Harold's pilgrimage along the silent shores of Thrasimene and Clitumnus, does homage to the charm of their tranquillity:

" . . . On the heart the freshness of the scene  
Sprinkles its coolness, and from the dry dust  
Of weary life a moment laves it clean  
With Nature's baptism . . . "

Fischer, flying from his native fogs, pays a still warmer tribute to verdurous Umbria: "I lamented bitterly, a prisoner in that dark northern circle, and my soul yearned for ampler and serener regions. And now both spirit and senses exult, refreshed and saturated by the dew of health." And the last in point of time of the great Italian poets, after apostrophising Italy in an hour of despondency, and cursing the modern "disease of civilisation," looked down from the hill of Perugia, and feeling the divine peace that rises like a perfume from the fertile valleys, the rivers flowing to the Tiber between rows of poplars, the lonely lakes, the chains of mountains sloping down among "mists of purple and of gold," gave utterance to the *Canto dell' Amore*:



PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE  
CHURCH OF TORRE D'ANDREA, NEAR PERUGIA



Io non so che si sia, ma di zaffiro  
 Sento ch' ogni pensiero oggi mi splende  
 Sento per ogni vena irmi il sospiro  
 Che fra la terra e il ciel sale e discende.\*

Such was the nature and the moral influence of the landscape which, triumphing over various exotic influences, was to form the sweet and solemn charm of the art of Perugino.

To be truly great, men must be able to present the virtual forces of their own times, and also of their own countries, after the fashion of Titian, who, better than any other artist, grasped and summed up Venetian pomp and splendour; of Leonardo, who above all others comprehended and expressed the taste, the aims, the perfections of the Tuscan spirit; of Correggio, who gathered together as in a posy the jocund vigour of Emilian poets and painters.

Perugino was not the equal of these; he fell short of them in variety and richness of composition, but like them, he lives in history as the greatest representative of the art of a divine region.

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo worked at the same time and in the same city with him; but he was far behind him in perfection of sentiment, and in the power to grasp and sum up the typical characteristics of Umbria and Umbrians. Fiorenzo gleaned his methods wherever he could, and if he kept his eyes fixed more particularly on the works of Benozzo Gozzoli, this did not prevent him, before and after, from following other Tuscans, more especially the Sienese, and various artists of the neighbouring Marches; nor indeed, if, as seems probable, the *grisaille* of a *Madonna and Child in a Garland*, and the *predella* with interlaced discs, in the Perugia Gallery, are by him, did he disdain to glean some traits of a more distant art—that of Mantegna.

Fiorenzo's undoubtedly authentic works have enabled us to establish his authorship of some less important examples; but there is still much diversity of opinion as to several others attributed to him, as, for instance, the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Nativity* in the Perugia Gallery, and the *S. Christopher* in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. In any case, in the Perugia Gallery we may study the main characteristics of his art in authentic works, which will serve as the starting-point for further research. The side panels of the niche, in the cabinet called by his name, show his signature and the date 1487 on the draperies of SS. Peter and Paul. There is a certain roughness in the modelling of the head of the Virgin in the lunette above, but the tints are already delicate and opaline, the under-colour slightly greenish. The heads of the cherubs are not wanting in grace, but more beautiful than all the rest are the little figures in the discs below the niche, in the *predella* above mentioned, which, though miniature-like in treatment, are rich in beauty, truth, and relief. A like beauty and minuteness, together with certain characteristics of the folds of draperies, the colour, and above all the forms (as, for instance, the pointed, satyr-like ears, and the nervous contraction of the extremities peculiar to Fiorenzo) in four out of the eight little panels of the *Miracles of S. Bernardine*, satisfy us that these, too, are by Fiorenzo. They are Nos. 2-5 of the series, which originally formed part of the frame-work constructed in

\* "I know not why, but a sapphire radiance illuminates my every thought to-day. Through every vein I feel the breath that rises and sinks between heaven and earth."—CARDUCCI.



1473 for the *gonfalone*, or processional banner, of the *Acts of S. Bernardine*, painted by Buonfigli in 1465.\* But as to the other four (6-9), in spite of the affirmations of critics of authority, we cannot accept them as the work of Fiorenzo. He of course inspired them, and perhaps even made the drawings for them, but his was not the hand that translated them into colour.

Be this as it may, we may judge sufficiently of his artistic temperament from the undoubted works by him at Perugia and elsewhere. He shows but little research in the matter of expression, rather is he indeed wholly destitute of passion, but, on the other hand, he is accurate, rich, exuberant, and instinctively elegant. He does not affect the modest draperies of a single tint dear to Perugino, but loves to paint richly embroidered stuffs and gold brocades rivalling those of Carlo Crivelli, as in his picture at Frankfort; his buildings are no simple *loggie* with plain or monochromatic pilasters, but sumptuous structures richly adorned with gilded friezes and candelabra; his landscapes are no pastorals of sweet and simple lines, hardly more than delicate aerial gradations of greens and blues; but vast accumulations of mountains, valleys and woods, of trees flushed with gold, of beetling crags overhanging slopes pierced with tunnel-like openings, of towns and hamlets.

Pintoricchio, who had not by nature any strong psychological tendencies, and who was consequently more attracted by the external splendours of art than by its sentiment, must from the first have felt himself more drawn towards the manner of Fiorenzo than towards that of Perugino. The chaste and sentimental beauty of the art of Perugino, relying on no adventitious aids to excite interest and win admiration, must have seemed insignificant to one who judged of it apart from its spiritual intention. Pintoricchio, though he did not disdain to profit by Perugino's example, naturally followed more closely after a master who set before him methods more easily assimilated, and more productive of decorative effect.

That Pintoricchio's art was founded on that of Fiorenzo cannot be seriously questioned. The older painter has in embryo those tints of mother-of-pearl, which in the hands of the younger developed into the richer radiance of the opal. He has the



*Lombardi, photo.*

THE MADONNA OF THE POMEGRANATE  
ACCADÉMIE, SIENNA

\* From the additions made at a later date above or below these panels to complete the ornamentation, it is evident that they were arranged vertically, four on either side of the banner, to serve as a frame or rather a setting for it, the top of the frame being formed by the little panel No. 17, with the *chrisme* of S. Bernardine in a garland of fruits among ribbons, ornamented below by the usual precious stones, which recur in the other pictures.

rock-strewn landscape, studded with tall, slender trees, and varied by rivers and hamlets, that his successor imitated, giving it an added breadth, transparency and poetry. He showed a great delight in the ornamentation of architecture, and was much given to the painting of friezes, and of *grisailles* on a gold ground,\* details which the other enriched with additional lines and colours. But we need not insist on these minor points, for Pintoricchio further took from Fiorenzo a variety of motives, groups, figures, and animals.

In the little panels of the Miracles of S. Bernardine there are certain male figures, seen almost from behind, with high voluted caps and very ample draperies, which re-appear in Pintoricchio's late work, the frescoes in the Piccolomini Library of the Cathedral of Siena, where, too, are numerous children and animals derived from the same source. From other painters, whose names have been already mentioned, he also gleaned some precious elements of his style. Ottaviano Nelli, in the Trinci Chapel, had shown him gilded vaulting ribs in relief; Gentile revealed to him the splendour of golden tissues; Buonfigli suggested great accuracy in the reproduction of buildings, and the decorative value of gold-studded draperies; Nicolò di Liberatore bade him enliven his backgrounds with minor episodes, and showed him beautiful cherub forms, upholding escutcheons. Perugino furnished him with dignified and noble types for the sacred figures of the Eternal Father, the Redeemer, angels floating on clouds, and saints with foreshortened heads uplifted; Benozzo Gozzoli, too, was his counsellor in the choice of the simple and well-ordered themes of certain compositions (notably those of the Bufalini Chapel in the Church of Ara Cœli); but in his art as a whole he held fast by that of Fiorenzo, which contained in a greater measure the nucleus of his external and decorative qualities. To sum up, Pintoricchio was an artist remarkable for delicacy of execution and richness of colour, a "princely painter;" but his analysis of emotion is so superficial that he has enriched the domain of art with not a single example of those figures that are for ever famous, because their vitality and passion make them appear prodigious. As regards splendour of colour, arrangement, landscape, architecture, crowds of figures, he brought together all the qualities Umbrian painting had developed in the course of a century, fused them into a whole, and carried them to a height of magnificence worthy of the most brilliant Courts.

But it is just because of this that his pre-eminently courtly art had perhaps but little of heart concealed beneath its sumptuous raiment.

It is generally asserted that Bernardino was born in 1454, on the testimony of Vasari, who stated that he died in 1513 (as in fact he did), at the age of fifty-nine. Of his childhood and youth we know nothing, nor indeed have we much information as to his life in general, though we learn that his last years were embittered by a worthless wife, of the same stamp as Andrea del Sarto's Lucrezia. It was perhaps not so much his love of art that kept him from participation in the struggles of the times, as physical incapacity. The chronicler Francesco Matarazzo concludes a glowing eulogy of Perugino with these words: "There was also another master whom many called El Pentoricchio and others Sordicchio, because he was deaf and undersized, and of insignificant

\* See the fragments in the Perugia Gallery of a fresco by Fiorenzo from the suppressed church of San Giorgio.

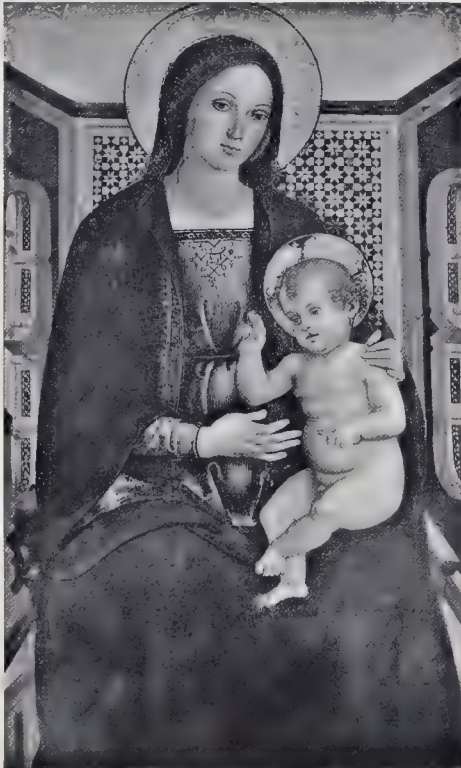
appearance; and, as Master Pietro was the first in his art, so too this other was the second, and he too, in his second place, had no equal in the world. Thus it appears that our city produced men of the greatest worth and skill in this calling also, as in the other faculties and virtues."\*

In what year did he quit his native city to work elsewhere? It is probable that his first long absence began in 1480, when Perugino took him to Rome and employed him as his assistant in the Sistine Chapel. The omission of Pintoricchio's name in the second contract signed by the master for ten more frescoes, in October 1481, as we shall see further on, makes two things evident to us: firstly, that he did not take part as a principal in the contract, because he was working as the assistant or *famulus* of Perugino (covered, so to speak, by the authority and responsibility of the master); secondly, that Pintoricchio had never worked before in Rome, and that his talents, so well known to Perugino by their association in Perugia, were as yet unrecognised there. It is further to be noted that not one of the numerous works executed by Pintoricchio in Rome can be shown by signature or documents to have been painted before 1481. Everything, therefore, leads us to believe that he first

appeared there under the auspices of Vannucci, just as later on Raphael made his *début* in the city under the protection of his compatriot, Bramante.

We have no historic record of works executed by Pintoricchio up to the year 1480, or in other words, up to his twenty-sixth year, nor do we even find any documentary evidence of his having worked with Buonfigli or Fiorenzo; yet it is certain that he must already have given striking evidences of his powers, since at this age Perugino judged him capable of being his coadjutor in a work of such importance and responsibility as the paintings in the Sistine Chapel.

Strangely enough, it has been argued that the sumptuous and festal character of



A. MARI, photo

VIRGIN AND CHILD  
SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, SPILLO

\* *Cronaca di Perugia dal 1492 al 1503*, in *L'Archivio storico italiano*, vol. xvi. part ii. (Florence, 1851), pp. 6, 7.



Pintoricchio's art from the very first suggests that he had been for some time in Rome, a spectator of papal magnificence.

Yet Perugia lacked nothing which could lead to the ample development of an artist's taste in all its manifestations. The mere fact that Perugino and Raphael were formed there sufficiently proves this.

Was not the city then as now, one of the most lovely in Italy as regards its natural surroundings, looking out upon the valley of the Tiber, and on five or six chains of mountains melting into the horizon far off by distant Monte Amiata?

Was it not gorgeous in its artistic pageants and its thronging masses? Was there any lack of erudite persons among the studious, eager to put their culture at the service of art? Did it not afford plentiful opportunities for admiring magnificent costumes and ceremonies?

The years spent by Pintoricchio at Perugia were among the calmest and most prosperous the city had known. This calm had only been ruffled in 1479, a year or two before his departure, by the abortive nocturnal attack of the Florentines on the Porta Sant' Angelo. The graver calamities, that ensanguined the streets of the Oddi and the Baglioni, did not fall upon the city till after he had left for Rome. On the other hand, we find that in his time the Council of Ten "having neither war without nor discord within, attended to the good government of their citizens, to the maintenance of the populace in plenty, and to the enrichment of the city by public as well as by private buildings."\* And this solicitude for the city and its antiquities on the part of the Perugian ædiles is attested by evidences that are very remarkable in view of the times. In 1475 Biordo degli Oddi decreed that no one "whose house adjoins the walls of the ancient city shall touch or move a single stone thereof, seeing that in regard to the greatness and magnificence of the city and their own nature, they are very notable, and worthy to be preserved to all eternity; and if any should have already [done so], since many have houses upon them or contiguous to them, and should have used them for their private purposes, they shall be obliged to rebuild the wall in the original manner and with the same stones, at their own cost, within six months." And about a year later an order was given that "certain walls which project from the higher floors of the houses, causing no slight disfigurement, and obstruction to the air in the streets, be pulled down, especially those around the piazza."

In 1479 the Signory "had succeeded in leading all the public highways of the city into those places where they were most needed; they also made many new cisterns, wells, and public fountains, and other things meet for the ornamentation and magnificence of their city."

Perugia was accordingly famous as one of the most beautiful cities of Italy, and was often visited by persons of distinction, who, with their sumptuous retinues and the festivities which were held in their honour, were the source of much pleasure, admiration, and artistic enjoyment to the people.

Pintoricchio, eager for such splendours, which he subsequently recorded in his brilliant frescoes, had opportunities of witnessing many pageants of this sort, to say nothing of the periodic ceremonies of the installation of the magistrates and the accompanying diversions, or the religious festivals, with their long processions blazing with the gold and colour of rich costumes and ecclesiastical trappings.

\* Pompeo Pellini, *Historia di Perugia* (Venice, 1694), ii., pp. 721, 744, 749, 772.



He was fifteen when the Emperor Frederick arrived at Perugia and remained there three days, with seven hundred horse, and many ambassadors from the various princes and republics, the guests of the city, which feasted them royally, while to the sovereign it presented two horses caparisoned in cloth of gold. Two years later, Borso d'Este passed through the streets, with five hundred horse and a hundred and thirty mules, many of them in housings of purple velvet or gold brocade, and twelve pages to guard the weapons of gold and silver. These were followed by learned men and gentlemen splendidly apparelled, servants holding a hundred and fifty hounds in leash, and fifty falconers, the whole making up a spectacle of magnificence which left its trace in the little pictures by Fiorenzo painted shortly afterwards and described above, even before it lived again in Pintoricchio's frescoes.

Again, Pintoricchio must have witnessed the revival of the festivals in honour of the saints of the various gates and quarters, in 1471, when the streets were gaily decorated, and much junketing and dancing took place; and the reception given to Rengarda da Camerino, wife of Oddo Baglioni; and to Madonna Castora, daughter of Braccio Fortebracci. The city, in short, gave itself up to the enjoyment of a life of ease and elegance, eager to accept all the beauty the Renaissance shed upon it from its bounteous cornucopia. Here, among other cities, sumptuary laws became necessary, and in 1472 the magistrature, with Ruggero de' Ranieri at its head, enacted certain of these, recognising (by the help of Frate Gian Battista da Montefalco's menacing counsels) "how harmful the gorgeous apparel of the women had become in the city of Perugia, and the excessive dowries caused thereby, and now customary in the city." No less effectual, a few years later, were the sermons of Bernardino da Feltre, rivalling those of Savonarola in fire and fancy. He induced the women to lay aside their inordinately long gowns, and to moderate their display of ornaments. Then, having caused a wooden castle to be erected in the great Piazza where he preached, he had it filled with objects of "vanity," and set fire to it.

However, the destruction of so many symbols of vice and vanity did not prevent the Baglioni from displaying an almost fabulous luxury at the wedding festivities that took place shortly afterwards, nor did it suppress or mitigate the desire to portray things gay and splendid.

Artists and people vied with each other in providing the elements of æsthetic pleasure. The people gave the artists the spectacle of a marvellous variety and elegance; in return the artists gave them immortal works by which they both delighted them and ensured their immortality. To be brief, happiness and glory were sought for, not in the good, but in the beautiful, and hence, to a great extent, in art. The calumnies of Aretino, and the atrocities lately perpetrated by Cesare Borgia at Sinigaglia, were esteemed beautiful as works of art. And how widely diffused the taste



VIRGIN AND CHILD  
DRAWING IN THE STAPPA INSTITUTE, FRANKFURT-  
ON THE MAIN

for and the glorification of beauty were, is proved by these words of the chronicler Matarazzo: "Messer Astorre Baglioni lay dead and naked on the ground in the street, and so likewise lay the noble Simonetto; and those who beheld them, and especially the foreign students and other persons, likened the Magnificent Messer Astorre, thus dead, to an ancient Roman, so full of dignity was he, and so great and noble was his face."

The victims of a horrible butchery, bleeding, covered with wounds, cast naked into the public street, excited not so much horror among the spectators as admiration for their heroic composure and grandeur.

\* \* \*

A drive of half an hour along a lonely road running between ditches and ploughed fields from Santa Maria degli Angeli leads one to a little suburb called Torre d'Andrea, near the spot where the Topino falls into the Chiascio. It lies in a plain in the midst of an amphitheatre of mountains crowned with towns and villages: Spello, Assisi, Perugia at the back, and to the left, Bevagna and Montefalco.

The tinkle of distant waters, the rustle of leaves, the songs of birds, are the only sounds to be heard. In the village rise the rugged ruins of a fortress, probably dismantled in 1527 by the soldiers of the Duke of Urbino when they took Galeotto Baglioni prisoner there.

There now remains a massive entrance tower with small arches and modillions, still showing the grooves where once the chains of the drawbridge creaked and rattled. On the high altar of the church, which has been very badly restored, is a tempera painting on panel, which we believe to be unquestionably a youthful work of Pintoricchio's. The subject is *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*.\*

Under a portico on raised pilasters of severe simplicity, crossed by a parapet, beyond which is a landscape, kneels the meagre and ascetic S. Bernardino, his face in profile, the radiant *chrisma* suspended before his very characteristic face, his spectacle case hanging at the cord of his girdle. The anatomical research shown in the treatment of the head and hands—of a very primitive and meagre order, limited to parallel wrinkles and a naïve network of veins—sufficiently proves this work to be one of the most juvenile efforts of the master. On either side of the saint is a group of figures; behind him a gentle, weak-eyed Madonna with clasped hands, in a red tunic and blue mantle, the latter very faded, the former in all the crude brilliance due to an unsuccessful restoration carried out about 1830. In the carnations, still pale and timid, the cold tints are not yet tempered with rose; the hands and feet, too, have yet to become longer, daintier, and more delicate, but the fair hair is already lovingly treated. To her left stands a female figure bearing on her head a vase with the pair of turtle doves for the offering, a figure the painter introduced later, with a similar vase, to the left of the *Journey of Moses* in the Sistine Chapel. But the difficulties of foreshortening in the uplifted arm and hand are not yet overcome, and the profile, which was also a little difficult of execution, because it is looking to the right, is not good, and has a preoccupied air. On the other hand, the S. Joseph reveals the type the master already loved, and afterwards brought to perfection, although the execution is still hesitating in the squat, coarsely veined hands, the squarely modelled and indifferently drawn head. The folds of the yellow mantle here

\* Bragazzi, *Rosa dell' Umbria* (Assisi), p. 123. L. Manzoni, *A zonzo pel Contado Perugino; Torre d'Andrea in Umbria*, Year i. Nos. 10, 11. (Perugia, 1898.) *L'Arte*, Year i. p. 362. (Rome, 1898.) The picture is 1 m. 80 cm. by 1 m. 55 cm.

again are not good, but it has been worked all over by the restorer, as has also the purple cymar of Simeon, a handsome old man with a long white beard, who raises the Infant Jesus in his arms. The latter is already delicious, with a soft, plump little body, the cool tints of which show to great advantage in contrast with Simeon's brown hands. He has a linen drapery about His loins and a string of coral beads round His neck, and raises His right hand in benediction. Behind the old man's head appears that of a youth in a dark cap with green wings, with long black hair, and a slight down on his lips. He wears a necklace over his yellow tunic. At a first glance we note strong points of resemblance here to Pintoricchio's self-portrait at Spello; but others have identified this youth with Grifonetto Baglioni, and further take the old man in front of him in a white turban, a red tunic, and a blue mantle to be Grifone. To us this seems to be not a portrait, but a fancy head, like that of the old man in the yellow under-dress and mantle of shot red and green, with a gold necklace round his throat, and his cap in his hand, who seems to be intended for Gismundo, with his beard shorn, in accordance with the vow he made to avenge himself on Girolamo della Penna. The picture is completed on the right by the beautiful head of a youth with abundant fair hair curling under a cap of the same red as his mantle. We, with others,



Alinari, photo

VIRGIN AND CHILD  
SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE - SPELLO

believe this to be a portrait, like the head we have assumed to be that of Pintoricchio, to which indeed it is turned, as if the two young men were conversing, but it is impossible to accept it as a portrait of Raphael, who could not have been more than eight or nine years old when the picture was painted, and who was far from Perugia at the time. The landscape of the background, though slight in extent and circumscribed by the tall figures between which it appears, already shows the pleasure with which the master was afterwards to dwell on this feature of his pictures. In the front we note those russet autumnal trees, which later he transfused with golden light; then green woods melting into more distant woods and blue mountains. In the middle of the portico a lighted lamp hangs from above, with festoons of coral at the sides.

We believe we may point out another work of this first period in the small picture known as the *Madonna of the Pomegranate*, deposited in the Siena gallery by the Reale Conservatorio della Maddalena in 1879.\*

The Virgin is seated against a flowered gold background, in a purple gown and a blue mantle lined with green, the latter entirely re-painted (with the addition of a very coarsely executed ornamentation) by some journeyman artist, as are also the cushion on which the Infant Jesus is seated, and the pomegranate He is taking from the maternal hand. But

\* In tempera on canvas pasted upon panel, 52 cm. by 40 cm.



the nude portions are intact, and adhere to Fiorenzo's characteristic treatment, though we already note a tendency to touch the opaline tints with a delicate rose. The drawing is still a trifle hard, notably in the head of the Virgin and the body of the Child, but the head of the little S. John is beautiful in execution, and (a rarer thing with the master) in sentiment as well.

The two pictures described above are, in our opinion, the earliest works by Pintoricchio that have survived. As evidences of their priority we may point to the painter's embarrassment in dealing with difficulties of foreshortening, the harshness of the forms, and a certain density in the colour, that almost looks as if the transparent Umbrian air had not yet cast its tender reflections on the young Perugian's palette.

Which among his remaining extant works were executed in his youth, we should not venture to pronounce with confidence. As regards the very delicate *S. Jerome*, kneeling in the desert, deposited by the Bartoccini family in the Perugia Gallery, we are unable to give a very decisive opinion.\* It is more characteristic of Fiorenzo than of Pintoricchio, and is indeed almost a repetition of the same figure which is grouped with S. Christopher by the side of the crucified Saviour in a small picture in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, formerly attributed to Pintoricchio, but now generally ascribed to his master. Judging by the facial type of the Virgin, and the timid character of the technique, we should take the following to be works painted before his sojourn in Rome: two *Madonnas* at Spello (one of these painted by him over a Virgin of earlier date); one at Città di Castello, one at Monaco, one in London, one at Milan, one in the Perugia Gallery, and the *fondo* (circular picture) of the Holy Family in the Siena Gallery, all, of course, works of increasing importance, such as a young man would be bound to paint before receiving commissions for large panels, and decorations for chapels and apartments.

That these are for the most part *Madonnas*, either alone with her Son, or with the little S. John and S. Joseph, is natural enough. These were the subjects invariably treated by all artists at first, even by the greatest, because, if not the easiest, they were the most usual, and perhaps also the most saleable. Pupils were employed afterwards to reproduce the originals of their masters, whose share in the pictures thus produced in the workshops was often confined to finishing and signing them. Then, when the young artist had finished his apprenticeship, and began to work on his own account, he had, before any special works were confided to him, to treat the sweet, simple, and familiar theme which he was quite sure to sell, since there was no house without a smiling *Madonna*, gazing down tenderly at her Babe.

Of the little picture in the Perugia Gallery, close to the great altar-piece by Pintoricchio, there is little to be said. It is a miserable wreck, of which there is not much remaining but the head and hand of the Virgin, who is placed between two trees, near a plinth or balustrade which supports the Babe.

The *Madonna* in tempera on panel in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Spello, in the second chapel from the entrance, supported diagonally by two *baroque* angels in stucco, is of the characteristic type, with the large eyes set far apart, the long straight nose with a rounded tip, the small, pouting rosebud mouth.† Dressed in the traditional

\* The tempera is obscured by a coat of varnish, which it would be difficult to remove. But for this, the picture would be in good condition. Luigi Manzoni, *Chi fu il maestro del Pintoricchio* (Perugia, 1901).

† G. B. Cavalcaselle and Giovanni Morelli, *Catalogo delle Opere d'Arte nelle Marche e nell'Umbria* (1861-62), in



blue, green-lined mantle and pink under-dress, she holds the seated Babe upon her left knee. The technical treatment is marked by great fusion and smoothness, but lacks any vigour of light or contour. In the hands the accuracy of the modelling does not equal the excellence of the form, notably in the manner in which they are set on to the wrist. The folds have still all the Umbrian or scholastic convention, showing the carved forms of hooks and eyes. The Babe, although well modelled, and showing considerable study in the anatomical structure of the chest and knees, is languid, and there is something cold and timid in His delicacy. But in this connection there is something to be noted. The throne on which the Virgin is seated, with its Cosmatesque *intarsia* and sides in very sharp perspective, the canopy above with the trilobate arches on a gold background, the form of the letters inscribed on the aureole, and the quality of the wood, have revealed this picture as the central panel, sawn off at the bottom, of a very much earlier triptych, the wings of which are in the Sacrestia Nuova, while the *predella*, consisting of three small panels, has been divided, two of the panels being now under the first picture to the right on entering the church, and one under Pintoricchio's other *Madonna* in the chapel of the Sacrestia Vecchia. The master must, therefore, have simply re-painted a *Madonna and Child* in the central compartment of a triptych now divorced from its complementary portions, which portions seem to us to show all the characteristics of Jacopo da Casentino. A note in Morelli's work, which states the drawing No. 610 in the Städcl Institute at Frankfort to be a study for this Spello *Madonna*, assigns the picture to the years 1501-2, and therefore excludes it from the pictures painted by Pintoricchio before his departure for Rome. But we cannot subscribe to such an opinion, which may perhaps have been based solely on the fact that the master painted the Baglioni Chapel in this same church in 1501.



Hanfstädel, photo.

VIRGIN AND CHILD  
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

*Le Gallerie Nazionali italiane*, vol. ii. (Rome, 1896), p. 274. Ivan Lermolieff (Giovanni Morelli) *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei* (Leipzig, 1893), vol. iii. p. 325. Edition revised by Gustavo Frizzoni. Giulio Urbini, *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello* in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte* (Rome, 1896), p. 378, and in *Arte e storia*, XIII. (Florence, 1894), p. 141.

The *Madonna and Child* described above was certainly repainted by Pintoricchio on the old triptych several years earlier. The colour, the technique, and above all the type of the Virgin still retain the characteristics of his earliest works. Later on his colour became more varied and transparent, the handling of the flesh tints bolder and more apparent, the hands more beautiful and more refined, the feminine face of a smaller oval, with a small delicate nose, slightly compressed towards the sharp point, while the ears, diverging more and more from the type of Fiorenzo, are less pointed and faun-like. Although we believe with Morelli that the Städel Institute drawing is by Pintoricchio, we do not think it was made for the *Madonna* at Spello. In the drawing the figure of the Virgin and also the head are a good deal inclined, so that they could not have served for the required task, which was to repaint the figure on the original throne, and the head in the original aureole. In the picture, indeed, she is almost upright. In the drawing the mantle is fastened at the neck, and there is a veil on the head; in the picture there is no veil, and the open mantle falls in wholly different folds. In the Child the differences are just as marked, if not more so. The drawing shows Him in the lap of the Virgin, almost in the middle, and facing the spectator, His legs apart, supported by His Mother, who holds Him with her left hand against His side, and with her right, raises His little hand in benediction. In the picture He is quite to the right, and in profile, His legs crossed, while the Virgin's hands are differently disposed; one beneath His right arm does not touch Him, the other is laid upon His shoulder.\*

There are various instances of the repainting of thirteenth-century Madonna pictures during the Renaissance. A very famous example is the *Madonna del Barracano* at Bologna, repainted by Francesco Cossa. But in such cases the artist, though he was free to amplify the original forms, could not displace them, bound as he was by space, proportions, and sometimes by the outline. It cannot therefore be supposed that Pintoricchio, knowing what he had to do, would have prepared a drawing which could be of no use to him without a great deal of alteration. But the real fact is obvious to us. The Frankfort drawing was not only not made for the Spello *Madonna*, but is considerably later in date; the beauty and vivacity that characterise it are sufficient evidence of this.

The other *Madonna and Child* in the same church at Spello, in the little chapel of the ancient sacristy (a fragment of a fresco with the ends and the angles repainted), is another early work of the same period, as we may judge by the type, the absolute affinity of execution, the chubby, almost swollen contours of the rather coarsely modelled Babe, and the face of the Madonna, opaline in its tints, but not as yet refined, diaphanous, and delicate, like the female faces in the works adjoining it, painted in 1501.†

Two little panels more pleasing in character, also executed before 1480, and showing in every trait the influence of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, in colour, in forms, and even in the facial types, are assigned to the master. One is in the Bufalini collection at Città di Castello,‡ the other in the London National Gallery.§ In both the Madonna bends

\* Jos. Schönbrünnner and Jos. Meder: *Handzeichnungen aller Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1901), plate 333. These writers also describe it as a drawing for the Spello *Madonna*, but they obviously follow Morelli.

† The Babe is disfigured by restorations on the right arm and on the breast. G. B. Cavalcaselle and Giovanni Morelli: *Catalogo*, and *loc. cit.* Urbini: *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello*, &c., pp. 394-95.

‡ G. Magherini-Graziani: *L'Arte a Città di Castello* (Ivi, 1897), p. 176.

§ Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery (London, 1898), p. 412. It belonged to the Wallerstein

her head, wearing the same veil under her mantle, and the Babe, with the same tiny curls and little shirt, wears an identical jewel at His neck, fastened to a small chain of closely threaded beads. The same cloud, horizontal below, and globular above, sails in the heavens; in both pictures a shattered branch, which the master introduced in other works later on, hangs from a small tree on the mountain. The differences in composition, technique, and pictorial sentiment are very slight. In the London picture, the Babe stands upright on a parapet,\* on which is spread a gaily-coloured drapery, with a coat of arms beneath, while, in the other, He is seated on the clasped hands of the Virgin. But the Bufalini panel is one of a whole host of similar *Madonnas* turned out in Perugia, the prototype of which it is difficult to identify.

Another such work is to be found in the Buda-Pesth Gallery. Certain critics assign it to Pintoricchio, while others resolutely refuse to recognise it as the work of the master;† a third is in the Louvre, where it is described as a work of the School of Perugino;‡ a fourth in the Naples Museum, formerly assigned to Ghirlandajo; a fifth in the Darmstadt Museum;§ a sixth, attributed to Raphael,|| belongs to Mr. J. C. Hooker, of Rome, while a seventh is in the London National Gallery, &c.¶ Great uncertainty still obtains as regards the true authorship of these various examples. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle first suggested Tiberio d' Assisi for some of them,\*\* then the School of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

Charles Blanc was reminded of Andrea d' Assisi, called L'Ingegno.†† But the Abbé Brousselle cuts the discussion short with the name of Perugino, and says: " Je n'hésite



VIRGIN AND CHILD  
UNIVERSITY GALLERY, OXFORD

Collection, and was given by Queen Victoria to the gallery at the desire of the Prince Consort. E. M. Phillips, *Pintoricchio* (London, 1901), pp. 144, 155. I am, however, much inclined to suspect that this picture is the work of Fiorenzo rather than of Pintoricchio.

\* This Babe is imitated from that in Fiorenzo's small triptych in the Ravenna Gallery.

† A. Kepgyujtemeny Leiro' Lajstroma (Buda-Pesth, 1888), p. 8, no. 62. E. Phillips, pp. 148 and 155. Berenson: *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), p. 169. A. Venturi: *I Quadri di Scuola italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Buda-Pesth*, in *L'Arte*, III. (Rome, 1900), p. 236.

‡ Both de Tausia, *Notice des Tableaux du Musée National du Louvre* (Paris, 1892), p. 246. G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, *Le Musée National du Louvre* (Paris, 1894), p. 359.

§ Rud. Hofmann, *Descriptive Catalogue* (Darmstadt, 1875), no. 513. || *L'Art* (Paris, 1882), Year viii. vol. ii. no. 338.

¶ Catalogue, p. 546, no. 702. \*\* *A New History of Painting in Italy* (London, 1866), vol. iii. p. 298.

†† *Histoire des Peintres de toutes les Ecoles; Ecole Ombrienne*, p. 8.



pas d'y reconnaître des œuvres de la jeunesse de l'artiste."\* Now no one, save of malice prepense, could ascribe these little pictures to Vannucci, either in his youth or his old age, taking into account their artistic weakness; and indeed, no one had ever thought of Vannucci in connection with them before. On the other hand, if the Città di Castello example is by Pintoricchio, as it seems to be, while showing such strong affinities with Fiorenzo's pictures, we may perhaps infer that the prototype of all these works was an original *Madonna* by Fiorenzo, popular either for artistic or devotional reasons, or on account of the fame of the church or chapel in which it was enshrined. This would explain why some other examples of the same kind show stronger affinities in drawing and even more notably in colour with the manner of Perugino than with that of Pintoricchio, being perhaps copies executed by the pupils or disciples of the former.

Yet another *Madonna*, but one of a very different type, is the picture in the Berlin Gallery, ascribed to Pintoricchio. With a gesture at once more animated and more graceful, she holds the Babe, who stands on her knee, with her right hand, and offers Him an apple with the other.† Something in the general outline, in the dark background, and in the type of the Infant Saviour seems alien to Pintoricchio, and has caused a certain hesitation in accepting the attribution which to some critics appears so incontestable, just as, again, doubts have been cast on the authorship of the little arched panel belonging to Conte G. B. Rossi Scotti of Perugia, the harmony of which seems rather Peruginesque. We may accept with greater confidence the attribution of another little picture in the possession of Baron von Tucher, Bavarian minister at the Court of Italy. In this again the Babe, clad in a fine shirt, stands on His mother's lap, and raises His little hands to her neck, turning His head backwards; but at the sides of the picture there is a delicate landscape of mountains and trees touched with a golden radiance.

There are several other *Madonnas* by the master, or ascribed to him. That of the Fortnum Collection, now in the University Galleries at Oxford, with the Babe in the act of benediction, is unquestionably authentic. The Child is an animated little figure, springing from His mother's lap, apparently eager for play; the Virgin supports and restrains Him.

But the most notable early work of the master's, which, for reasons we shall give presently, we take to have been painted before his sojourn in Rome, is the *tondo* now in the Siena Gallery, perhaps originally in the Convent of Campansi.‡ The two little boys, Jesus and S. John, are standing arm in arm by S. Joseph and the Virgin, looking as if they had just been given leave to go and play.§ Jesus is entirely draped in a tunic brocaded with gold, and bordered with a gold embroidery on a blue ground at the breast and the hem. In His left hand He holds a little red book with gilt edges. Fair glossy hair, painted with much delicacy, enframes His round, chubby face.

The little S. John has bare arms and legs, rather less delicately modelled, and chestnut hair. In his right hand he holds a majolica vase—white, black, and gold—and in the other his long cross. The dark camel-skin covers his loins and breast, and is very

\* *La Jeunesse du Perugin et les Origines de l'Ecole Ombrienne* (Paris 1901), pp. 357–360.

† *K. Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Gemälde* (Berlin 1891), p. 212. F. Steinchen, *Raphael's seit 1508 verschollene, in S. Petersburg aufgefundenene Madonna di Siena* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 17.

‡ In tempera on a panel 83 centimetres in diameter, in an old frame of stucco and *papier maché*.

§ There is an old copy on panel of the two children in the Buda-Pesth Gallery, 62 by 42 centimetres (Ipolyi Collection).



minutely painted, all the tufts of fur carefully elaborated. The fair-haired Virgin is seated to the left, dressed in a red gown embroidered with gold at the breast and on the sleeves. With her left hand she holds an open book bound in red, on her knees; her right is upraised in benediction. The blue of her mantle has suffered a good deal, and the golden borders have darkened.

S. Joseph, who has a fine, thoughtful grey head, wears a blue tunic, the colour of which has darkened, and a yellow mantle flecked with gold and lined with red.



HOLY FAMILY  
100.171.1, SIENA

He lays his left hand on a little barrel, and in his right holds two loaves. The ground, which is sprinkled with flowers and grasses, has suffered a little, but the rest of the landscape is very beautiful, and in good condition. It is delicately treated, with a variety of slender trees, castles, and mountains melting into the blue horizon. To the right, near a cave, formed as usual of vertical blocks, on which one is laid horizontally, kneels S. Jerome, pressing a stone to his bare breast. Near him is a lion with fiery eyes, and his cardinal's hat hangs on a bush. To the left, in the shadow of a wooded crag, is S. Francis, a heart and a book in his hands.

This *tondo*, delightful in its simplicity, grace, and precision, is allied to the master's juvenile works not only in the types and execution, but also in its defects. First of all, it may be noted how the heads of the two children resemble those in the other little picture of the Siena Gallery, which, in their turn, may be compared with that of the Infant Jesus in the picture at Torre d'Andrea. Turning to the defects, we may point out that

Pintoricchio, who became a master in the art of composition and grouping, would never at a more mature stage have inclined all the four heads in the same direction, as he has done in this picture, giving them a strange uniformity of attitude, as if they were bent by the wind. Observe, too, the dry, heavy, regular folds of the draperies worn by the Virgin and S. Joseph; these in the master's later works became very much softer, as we shall see. Again, the figures of the narrow-shouldered saint and of the Madonna with her hard neck, large hands, and over-long legs, cannot be called altogether attractive.

It is true that there are defects in his later paintings, notably those in the Siena Library. But they are of a different nature, as may be seen by a comparison of works of well established dates.

That the two children are delightful, the landscape admirable, and the technique perfect are facts that do not tell in any way against our opinion, for taking into account the works Pintoricchio was on the eve of executing in the Sistine Chapel, it is obvious that he had already achieved a high degree of excellence before quitting Perugia.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SISTINE CHAPEL

SIXTUS IV.—THE FRESCOES OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL—PERUGINO AND PINTORICCHIO—THE JOURNEY OF MOSES AND THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST—THE VENICE SKETCH-BOOK

THE oak-tree which scattered so many graceful twigs and branches among the decorations and escutcheons of Roman buildings at the fairest period of the Renaissance, took root in the Vatican in 1471 in the person of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere), growing lustily, and becoming strong and mighty in the works of himself and of his nephew Julius II.\* During their pontificates, Art worked miracles greater than under any other Pope; and if one of them caused the Sistine Chapel to be built, and its walls covered with frescoes, the other had its vault decorated by Michelangelo.

Panvinio relates that the election of Sixtus IV. was not altogether without incidents. A disturbance having broken out near San Giovanni Laterano, several stones were hurled at the Pope, and the bearers of his litter threatened to put him down and leave him, though he apparently felt little alarm. Installed in the Vatican, he set himself, as the Italian proverb has it, "to give one blow to the hoop, and the other to the cask," conferring a benefit alternately on the Church and on his own family, enriching Rome with beautiful things, and lavishing lands, money and benefices on relatives and partisans, among the latter being Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards Alexander VI. Taking up an idea of Paul II.'s, he soon thought of starting a crusade against the Turks, but afterwards he decided that it would be well first of all to reconcile the Christian princes, to call for the tithe, and to strike a coinage. The "crusade" was carried out by Papal, Venetian and Neapolitan galleys, which made a trip along the Eastern coasts, burning, sacking, and plundering; they returned under the triumphant leadership of Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa, commander-in-chief, with twenty-five Turkish prisoners and a dozen camels laden with plunder. Meanwhile, he provided for his numerous and lowly family without the help of any crusade, ransacking the treasury of his avaricious predecessor for them, and allowing them to flaunt in unprecedented luxury. He gave "a royal bastard" in marriage to Leonardo della Rovere; and bestowed cardinals' hats on Giuliano, and on Pietro Riario, "a most humble Franciscan," who thereupon blossomed into a "full-blown Cardinal" under the title of Cardinal di San Sisto, Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop of Florence, and died

\* An allusion to the device of the Della Rovere family—an oak. [Tr.]

shortly afterwards of his excesses. His tenderness for this youthful and obscure friar gave colour to the suspicion that the young man and his brother Girolamo were his sons. Girolamo, indeed, was also loaded with favours; from a poor scrivener at Savona, he became Captain-General of the Army of the Church in Rome, and Governor of the fortress of Sant' Angelo. But Sixtus, rough, violent, and overbearing, recognised his own qualities in him, and knew how to turn them to account, just as he had taken advantage of Giuliano's war-like temper for the overthrow and plunder of Spoleto.

He then turned from his family to the Church, and in 1475 proclaimed the Jubilee, reducing the interval from fifty to twenty-five years. It produced neither a great concourse nor much illusion, and if Ferdinand, King of Naples, attended it, it was for purely political reasons. Like motives seem to have induced the presence of the fallen Queen of Cyprus, to whom he preached humility and self-sacrifice after the example of the martyrs, while, on the other hand, he raised his other nephew, Giovanni della Rovere, to high honours, obtaining the daughter of Federigo, Duke of Urbino, for him in marriage, making him Governor of Sinigaglia and Mondavio, and, on the death of Leonardo, appointing him Prefect of Rome.

In 1477 he raised two other nephews to the purple, while Girolamo Riario stirred up the enemies of the Medici, to gratify the hatred he had conceived for them during the siege of Città di Castello, a hatred further aggravated when Lorenzo de' Medici attacked the aggrandisement of his dominion in the Romagna. Accordingly, when the conspiracy of the Pazzi broke out, the thoughts of all turned to the Vatican as the place where it was hatched; nor did the impetuous Pope seem anxious to repel the accusation, when he fulminated against the Florentines, cursing and excommunicating them, and thus bringing about a reaction that secured them the political favour of all Italy, nay more, of all Europe, with the exception of Ferdinand of Naples. He was counselled indignantly to use his arms and his money against the Turks, and not against Christians. But nepotism was of greater weight with the Pope than his sacred office! Supported by Ferdinand, he attacked and harried Tuscany, scouting every idea of peace, and persisting doggedly in a merciless warfare, which was only checked by the defection of Ferdinand, who submitted to the Medici. Hereupon Girolamo Riario, no longer able to grind down Tuscany, carried war into Romagna, and by treachery, violence, bribes, and the spiritual aid of Sixtus, made himself master of Forlì.

While the Pope and his turbulent family were thus harassing Italy from within, the Turks approached, and in 1480 besieged Otranto. Loud then were the lamentations of the Holy Father, who assailed all the powers with lachrymose letters, imploring help. He even absolved the Florentines and restored them to favour that they might defend his interests, which fortune finally protected better than any of his allies, by bringing about the death of Mahomet II. Freed from the Turks, he returned to the charge against the Christians, and, urged on by the worthless Girolamo Riario, allied himself for a time with the Venetians in an attack upon the Duke of Ferrara; the Duke of Calabria meanwhile raided the States of the Church. Finally, he joined the rest of the Italian States against the Venetians, and supported the Orsini against the Colonna, whereby Rome was plunged into the horrors of bloody internecine strife. But in the midst of these civil conflicts, Sixtus sickened and died. Historians, from Machiavelli to Muratori, have treated him with great severity, painting him almost exclusively in his political aspect, as



an impudent nepotist, who used the wealth and power of the Church solely in the interests of a violent and perverse family.\* From our point of view, however, he is rather to be remembered as one of the staunchest supporters of art and artists, eager to gather together in Rome all the splendours of the Renaissance, then at the height of its magnificence.†

Sixtus IV. attempted to restore the decayed quarters of Rome, creating the order of the "Masters of the Roads," bringing ancient monuments to light, and constructing new ones. He ordered the removal of porticoes and balconies "which obstructed and darkened the streets, making them ugly and disorderly." He rebuilt the Hospital of San Spirito from the foundations; built, or rebuilt, the churches of Santa Maria del Popolo, Sant'Agostino, and Santa Maria della Pace; restored S. Peter's and the Lateran, and "restored many other churches in the city which age had reduced to ruins." He repaired the walls, "which in many places had fallen to the ground by reason of their antiquity." He brought back the "Virgin Water" to Rome, "rebuilding the aqueducts, which were all ruined and choked." He had the sewers cleansed, and incited the cardinals to help him in these vast schemes of restoration and beautification.

As was natural, he did even more for the adornment of his own palace. "He restored the Vatican," says Panvinio, "making great porticoes below. He built commodious rooms for the Papal guards and the Palace guards, which he instituted; also for the court officials, who had hitherto been lodged in wretched and inconvenient hovels. He formed the Vatican Library, collecting books throughout Europe; it is the most famous in the world, and Platina was made superintendent of the same, and had an income allotted to him, for the support of those who took care of the library, and for the purchase of books."

Of the three arts he favoured painting chiefly, and indeed gave few commissions to sculptors, and employed mediocre architects for the buildings he caused to be constructed. But the crowd of painters he collected round him include, with few exceptions, the greatest names of the day: Melozzo da Forlì, Luca Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Perugino, Pintoricchio, Cosimo Rosselli, Piero di Cosimo, &c. Melozzo worked in the apse of the Church of the Santi Apostoli, and in the rooms of the Vatican Library on the ground floor‡ now used as store-rooms. The others were employed, perhaps in co-operation, in the Sistine Chapel, begun in 1473, upon the framework of former constructions. A document of October 27, 1481, contains the contract between Giovanni di Pietro Dolci, architect and commissioner of works of the Palazzo Apostolico on the one hand, and the painters Rosselli, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo and Perugino on the other, for ten episodes to be painted by them and their assistants, diligently, faithfully, and to the best of their powers, like those *already executed by them*.§

\* Machiavelli, *Storie fiorentine* (Florence, 1843), Book vii., p. 331. Francesco Vettori, *Il Sacco di Roma* (Florence, 1867), p. 448. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* (Monaco, 1763), vol. ix., p. 347, etc.

† Panvinio, Sequel to Platina's *Historia della Vita dei sommi Pontefici* (Venice, 1594), pp. 241-246. Eugène Muntz, *Un Mécène italien au XVI<sup>me</sup> Siècle*, in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. xlviii. (1881), pp. 154-192. A. Pératé, *Les Papes et les Arts*, in a work called *Le Vatican* (Paris, 1895), pp. 497-514.

‡ Traces of decorative paintings are still to be seen here, but they are the work of a mediocre artist. Melozzo's fresco of Sixtus IV. appointing Platina keeper of the Papal Library has been removed to the Vatican Picture Gallery.

§ *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, Year vi. (Rome, 1893), p. 128. Boyer d'Agen, *Le Peintre des Borgia: Pinturicchio* (Paris, 1898), p. xiii.

It is therefore idle and misleading to assume that those already executed were the two painted by Luca Signorelli. They certainly numbered considerably more than two. There were at least five: the three on the wall above the altar destroyed by Michelangelo to make way for the *Last Judgment* (*The Finding of Moses*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Assumption of the Virgin* with the portrait of Sixtus),\* probably due, save for some collaboration from Pintoricchio and Rocco Zoppo, to the brush of Perugino; and two of those still existing on the lateral walls. The fact that Luca Signorelli is not mentioned in the contract is quite without importance. Neither are Pintoricchio, Piero di Cosimo, and several others who worked on the frescoes mentioned by name, but no doubt the document includes them under the generic title of assistants (*familiars*). If the three great Florentines, Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and Rosselli, had brought their assistants (among them Piero di Cosimo) from Tuscany, Perugino, for his part, had chosen his in Umbria: Pintoricchio from Perugia, Signorelli from Cortona.

The worthy Vasari, indeed (whose assertions it is the fashion to question even when there is nothing to prove him in error), expressly states that they collaborated in the Sistine Chapel. Of Luca he says that "he was summoned by Sixtus to work in the chapel of the Palace, in conjunction with many other painters";† of Pintoricchio that "he worked as Perugino's assistant in the time of the said Pope";‡ and finally of Piero di Cosimo, that "his master Rosselli took him to Rome, when he was called thither by Pope Sixtus to paint the subjects in the chapel."§ The most severe criticism, applied to the internal evidences of the paintings, cannot but subscribe to Vasari's statements in all three cases.

The painters were kept to their word, dominated by the resolute will of the Pope, the worthy exemplar in this respect of his nephew Giuliano della Rovere, who, when he became Pope under the title of Julius II., was able even to overawe the spirit of Michelangelo, so recalcitrant to authority of any kind.

The vast frescoes of the Sistine Chapel with their wealth of figures were finished, marvellous to relate, within the brief limit allowed by the contract, or very shortly afterwards, for on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin of 1483, and so about the middle of August, Sixtus was present at divine service in the Chapel, with a great concourse of prelates.

After vespers, he gave the benediction to the people, and granted indulgences to as many persons, men and women alike, as should visit the Sistine Chapel that evening. The Romans accordingly congregated in extraordinary numbers, with much crowding and tumult at the entrance, till after midnight. Ten days later, on the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere officiated there in the presence of his uncle and the cardinals.

\* Vasari, iii. p. 579. In the Albertina at Vienna there is a drawing by Pintoricchio for an *Assumption*, with the Apostles and a portrait of the Pope below. Morelli (*Le Opere dei Maestri italiani nelle Gallerie di Monaco, Dresda e Berlino*, edition published at Bologna in 1886, p. 280), and Franz Wickhoff (*Die italienischen Handzeichnungen der Albertina*, Part ii.) believe it to have been made for the *Assumption* on the wall where the *Last Judgment* now is, and they are perhaps right; but that therefore the whole fresco was by Pintoricchio and not by Perugino, they are certainly mistaken, for, as we shall see, Pintoricchio was fond of making memorials of the cartoons and works of other artists, and more especially of those of his friend. Vasari (iii. p. 591) further says that Rocco Zoppo assisted his master Perugino in the Sistine Chapel, where he painted the portraits of Girolamo Riario and Fra Pietro, Cardinal di San Sisto, portraits which were formerly on the wall above the altar, close to that of Sixtus IV.

† *Ibid.* p. 691.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 497.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 187, 188, and vol. iv. p. 132.





Fresco of the "Journey of Moses"  
in the Sistine Chapel





These ceremonies officially inaugurated the Chapel on its completion.\*

\* \* \*

What was Pintoricchio's share in the destroyed frescoes no one can say, in view of the absolute lack of historical or artistic indications. The drawings which are supposed to have been made for the frescoes, even if by him, prove nothing, for the reasons given above.

On the other hand, the share to be assigned him in the two last frescoes of the lateral walls, one opposite the other, has been a question art-critics have shown themselves anxious to solve, but hitherto there have been notable differences of opinion among them. These, indeed, are likely to persist, until common sense suggests to them how impossible it is to decide just where the brush of one artist makes way for that of another, the more so when we consider that these artists not only belonged to the same school and the same district (and hence were already agreed as to types and colour), but that when they were collaborating, they naturally endeavoured to fuse their several labours in a like tonality and a like sentiment. And this would make it difficult to discriminate, even if each separate part had been executed by a different artist, whereas we know that very often one would sketch in a figure and another would finish it, or that one would paint the head, leaving the draperies and the rest of the figure to be completed by another.

We will not conceal from our readers that when we find ourselves in the company of an expert who aspires to distinguish fold by fold, finger by finger, eye by eye, and skin by skin the work of one painter from another, we are tormented by doubts lest the critic should either be presuming too much upon his own powers, or trusting too much to the goodwill of those who hear and read him.

This applies, of course, only to the *minutiae* of details; when the examination is broadly extended to the composition, to the grouping, and to the general character of the figures, it is right to seek in these the soul of one artist rather than that of another. We therefore recognise the truth of Morelli's dictum when he says, speaking of these two very frescoes in the Sistine Chapel: "Pintoricchio here reveals himself as a landscape-painter of the first rank. And it was just these poetic landscape backgrounds that made me recognise his hand when I found myself for the first time before the two great paintings in the Sistine Chapel."†

The large participation of Pintoricchio in these frescoes (if indeed they were not entirely executed by him) was a thing no one ever perceived in the past, when the *Baptism of Christ* was unanimously ascribed to Perugino, and the *Journey of Moses with Zipporah* to Luca Signorelli.‡

In the second half of the past century, criticism began to show more discrimina-

\* Jacopo Volaterrani, *Diarium (Rerum italicarum Scriptores, xxiii. col. 188)*. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that the Sistine Chapel was not finished till 1486 (*A New History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1866, iii. p. 183), but in addition to all we have cited above, August Schmarsow (*Bernardino Pintoricchio in Roma*, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 11) points out as evidence that it was completed in 1483 the subsequent notices of Ghirlandajo, Signorelli, and above all, of Perugino, which show them to have been already scattered in all directions, and far from Rome.

† Vol. iii. p. 169.

‡ D. M. Manni, *Vita di Luca Egidio Signorelli in the Raccolta Milanese di varii Opuscoli* (Milan, 1756), i. no. 29. L. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica dell' Italia* (Pisa, 1815), i. p. 78.

tion. Jacob Burckhardt came pretty near the truth when he assigned these two frescoes to Perugino;\* Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle approached it still more closely when they suggested first Don Bartolomeo della Gatta, and then put forward for the first time the name of Pintoricchio.† They were perhaps led to think of Don Bartolomeo by Vasari, who states that he worked in the Sistine Chapel with Luca da Cortona and with Perugino,‡ and by the fact that the hands of two masters at least are apparent in the work. Morelli, however, thought rather that the worthy Abbot of San Clemente had collaborated with Signorelli in the *Testament of Moses*;§ but his age, for he was over seventy at the time, must have forbidden any very active participation in works so fatiguing and so rapidly executed. Be this as it may, to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and to Morelli belong the credit of having thought of Pintoricchio, on looking at these marvellous paintings. Schmarsow, unwilling to retract, would not allow the name of Perugino to be excluded, and continued to proclaim him the painter of the greater part of the work. He succeeded in obtaining a considerable following for this opinion, which has been adopted in recent times by Pératé,|| by Messrs. Ehrle and Stevenson, and more particularly by Pintoricchio's latest biographers.¶

Morelli notes, for instance, that "the composition is elaborate and overcrowded with figures, a fault frequent enough with Pintoricchio, but one which Perugino hardly ever committed." Schmarsow notes this same peculiarity from a totally different point of view, and says that in these two frescoes Perugino allowed himself to be influenced by the Florentine passion for crowds. He rejects Pintoricchio's authorship of the *Journey of Moses with Zipporah*, on the grounds that Pintoricchio was as yet quite unversed in the peculiar radial arrangement of the composition, with an important central group from which the secondary figures seem to radiate. With regard to the *Baptism of Christ*, Vasari ascribes it to Perugino, and Morelli, holding his ground unflinchingly, proclaims it wholly the work of Pintoricchio, both in composition and execution. On the other hand, Schmarsow maintains that the two principal figures, those of Jesus and of the Baptist, are by Perugino, while Steinmann attributes the former to Perugino and the latter to Pintoricchio.

The reader, whether he be a connoisseur or one unversed in art matters, will see in all this the confirmation of what we have already said as to the impossibility, or at any rate the enormous difficulty, of judging where the work of one master ends and that of another begins in the same painting, or rather we should say where that of *others* begins, since here Schmarsow further discovers the hand of another Umbrian painter of inferior powers!

Of the various other attributions we shall speak in our detailed examination of the two frescoes. They have suffered more than any others in the Sistine Chapel from the circumstance that they flank the altar, and are therefore more exposed to the smoke of

\* *Der Cicerone* (Leipzig, 1869), iii. p. 814.

† Vol. iii. p. 216.

§ Vol. iii. p. 170.

† Vol. iii. pp. 177-178.

|| *Op. cit.* pp. 508-511.

¶ E. Steinmann, *Pintoricchio* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 11-22, and *Die Sixtine Kapelle* (Monaco, 1901). Selwyn Brinton, *Masters of Umbrian Art* (London, 1900), p. 116, and *The Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1901). Evelyn March Phillips, *Pintoricchio* (London, 1901), pp. 38-44. Others, however, still uphold Morelli, and ascribe the two frescoes entirely to Pintoricchio, among them the recent editors of Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, faithful to their author's pronouncement, and George C. Williamson, *Pietro Vannucci, called Perugino* (London, 1900), pp. 16 and 151, &c. Jules Destrée, *Sur quelques Peintres des Marches et de l'Ombrie* (Brussels, 1900), p. 71, gives no decisive opinion.



tapers and incense, and also because they stand on the walls against which Michelangelo afterwards fixed his scaffoldings to paint *The Last Judgment*.

In the Book of Exodus we read that Jethro, the priest of Midian, gave Zipporah, one of his seven daughters, to Moses, as his wife, "And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom, for he said: I have been a stranger in a strange land. And it came to pass in process of time that the King of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage." The Lord then spoke to Moses, strengthened his faith by the miracles of his rod and his hand, and sent him into Egypt to rescue the children of Israel. Moses accordingly "returned to Jethro his father-in-law, and said unto him: Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said unto Moses: Go in peace. And the Lord said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt, for all the men are dead which sought thy life. And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt, and Moses took the rod of God in his hand. . . . And it came to pass by the way in the inn that the Lord met him and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me. So he let him go: then she said, A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision."\* The subject of one of the two frescoes is drawn from this passage of Scripture, sub-divided into four episodes: two in the background, Moses taking leave of Jethro,† and the Shepherds of Israel rejoicing at the death of the King of Egypt; and two in the foreground, Moses stopped and threatened with death by the Messenger of God, and the circumcision of the infant Gershom, the rite made necessary to the salvation of Israel by divine covenant, as appears from the books of Genesis and of Joshua.‡

The group of shepherds dancing to the music of one of their number, who is seated, while others leaning upon staves watch the sheep grazing around them, clearly represents the expression of joy at an auspicious event; it is to be found also in the background of pictures representing the birth of Christ.§

In the other group, more to the right, Moses, in a green mantle, takes leave of the aged Jethro, pressing his hand, while Zipporah embraces and kisses her mother; round about them stand several of her sisters, a handmaid with a child in her arms, and another with the second babe, and a vase on her head. This last figure corresponds, save for some slight variations, with the drawing by Pintoricchio (No. 368) in the Uffizi, and also with the first figure on the left in the foreground of the fresco, for which the same drawing, reversed, may have also served. This same figure again was probably the original of the mediocre drawing of a later date in white and bistre (No. 1314 in the Uffizi). These episodes of the background may be assigned entirely to Pintoricchio, and

\* Exodus ii. 16-22; iv. 18-26.

† We share the opinion that such is the subject of this group, and not the meeting of Moses and Jethro, after the victory over the Amalekites, when Jethro "came with his sons and his wife to Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God. . . . And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law." It is true that a high mountain appears in the fresco; but the incident last named would be too far removed in point of time from the others in the fresco, and also would have demanded such accompaniments as the camp and the multitude of Israelites, whereas in the actual rendering the figures represented all re-appear in the more important groups.

‡ Genesis xvii. 14; Joshua v. 2-8.

§ See, for instance, the *Nativity* attributed to Pintoricchio in the Siena Gallery (Room IX., No. 26), a languid work, with many of the characteristics of Eusebio di San Giorgio.

also the magnificent landscape with rocks and slender trees flecked with gold, high crags rising into three wooded peaks, alternating with palms, pines, cypresses, great "trees of Paradise", behind which opens a wide, luminous valley streaked by the river that skirts a towered city. But we cannot feel the same assurance in respect to the most interesting part of the painting. A muscular angel, seen from behind, his face in profile, planted firmly on his legs, which are apart, like those of Donatello's *St. George*, and clad in white, diaphanous raiment that flutters in the breeze, arrests Moses, laying his left hand on his neck—a strong, nervous hand, magnificently expressive of his purpose. In his right



*Alinari, photo.*

DRAWING FOR HEADS OF ZIPPORAH AND ATTENDANT IN "JOURNEY OF MOSES"

VENEZIA SKETCH BOOK

hand, which is drawn back to strike, he holds a sword, almost horizontally, like Cellini's *Perseus*, and the profile of his face, like the rest of his person, expresses the utmost energy. We agree with Schmarsow that this heroic figure does not suggest Pintoricchio either in type or sentiment, nor are we shaken in this opinion by the fact that there is a small drawing of the figure by the master, formerly attributed to Filippino Lippi, in the Ambrosiana at Milan.\* As we have already said, and as we shall see later on, Pintoricchio was in the habit of making drawings after various masters of other schools. How much the more then is he likely to have done so in the case of cartoons and paintings in which he, still a mere lad, had collaborated. Another figure we cannot accept as his is the woman immediately behind Zipporah, dressed in yellow with a white shawl, who is carrying a bundle of clothes upon her head.†

\* *Galleria portatile da Giotto alla Scuola dei Caracci*, a collection of drawings also known as the *Libro Resta*, p. 12. The drawing in question has been ruthlessly cut, and the head and feet are missing.

† Steinmann also rejects Pintoricchio's authorship of this figure, but we think he goes too far in suggesting it to be the work of Botticelli. A figure very similar to the woman who bears the vase appears, as we have already seen, in the Torre d'Andrea picture. The head of Zipporah appears in a drawing by the master at Venice, together with that of the seated woman who holds the babe on her lap to be circumcised.

But in all the rest of this left-hand group, Zipporah with the two children, Moses with the rod (indifferent to the threats of the angel), the woman with the vase, the two fine portraits of gentlemen, and the *cortège* behind, of the men with two dromedaries, a monkey, a dog, &c., we find nothing opposed to the style of Pintoricchio, nothing that suggests another hand; a very characteristic trait, on the contrary, is the absolute lack of feeling throughout. No one seems in the least concerned at the threatened death of Moses, or at the apparition of such an executioner!

A like uncertainty makes itself felt in connection with the other group of the Circumcision, which we believe to have been executed (with the exception of a few details) from Perugino's cartoons, and painted for the most part by himself. The head-dress of the woman who holds the child, the hair drawn into a coil forming spirals upon the temples like the horns of a ram, corresponds closely with a drawing by Pintoricchio in the Venice Sketch Book, and is repeated by the master in the frescoes of the Ara Coeli, of the Borgia Rooms, and of Santa Maria Maggiore at Spello, as Morelli has pointed out;\* but even if the initial idea did not proceed from Perugino, may he not, very probably, have left some such decorative details of secondary importance to his young assistant?† There are also studies in the Sketch Book for the head of Zipporah kneeling before her babe, but they are neatly executed, and show no trace of corrections, so much so that they would seem to be copies. However this may be, a careful study of the fresco forbids the ascription to Pintoricchio of these strongly illumined female heads, the large, deep folds of the draperies, the babe with its expressive face, and lithe, delicious little body, so unstudied in the grace of its attitude that it recalls one of the loveliest of Luca della Robbia's *putti*.

Steinmann is of opinion that Perugino was the painter of the Moses in profile, looking on at the operation performed on his infant son.‡ It is true that his beard and hair, treated with greater delicacy than those of the Moses stopped by the angel, are exactly like those of the *Christ delivering the Keys to Peter*, in the sublime fresco by Perugino, also in the Sistine Chapel; but all the rest of the figure suggests Pintoricchio in such characteristics as the heaviness of the mantle, the opacity of the draperies, the embroidery of the collar, showing similar peculiarities, and the form of the hands. The left hand, in



After a photo.  
DRAWING FOR FIGURE OF ZIPPORAH IN THE "JOURNEY  
OF MOSES," SISTINE CHAPEL  
VENICE SKETCH BOOK

\* Vol. iii. pp. 354-356.

† We must note that other artists beside Pintoricchio used this horned ornament. We find it introduced, for instance, in the Leonardo drawings at Windsor for the *Leda*, in a drawing by Ambrogio de Predis in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and in the portrait of Battista Sforza of Montefeltro by Piero della Francesca, now in the Uffizi. Among the drawings of the Venice Sketch Book are other feminine heads in which the *coiffure* is made a special study and treated with great variety.

‡ The said Steinmann further says that there is a drawing for it, the figure illumined against a dark background, in the Print Room at Berlin.



particular, should be compared with that of Zipporah leading the child in the opposite group. Indeed, all the figures may well have been painted by Pintoricchio, while to Perugino we may ascribe the heads,\* which form an admirable series of portraits,



*Alinari, photo*

DRAWING FOR "BAPTISM OF CHRIST"

PERUGINO'S SKETCH BOOK

and in the predella of San Pietro in the last-named city, and absolutely identical in the *Baptism* of the suppressed Church of the Annunziata at Foligno. The faces are extremely delicate in sentiment and execution, and the variety of the luminous tones is not common in Pintoricchio's works.

Nor are we much impressed by the fact that the Baptist holds the bowl inclined, instead of straight. In his other *Baptisms*, Perugino had gradually tilted it up more and more, so that we need not be surprised to find him at last upsetting it altogether.† Let us not, however, linger over such *minutiæ*, but rather, if possible, let us seek in composition, drawing, colour and expression the personality of the master. Pintoricchio's portraits in the Ara Coeli, in the Borgia Rooms, at Spello, at Siena, &c., are sweet, transparent, and opaline in tone; but the faces hardly ever get their relief from light thrown

terminating on the right with his own, explicit and faithful as that introduced in like fashion at the side of the *Adoration of the Magi* ascribed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in the Perugia Gallery. It should be further noted that in the Sistine fresco a youth looks with an air of recognition at the face of Perugino, that this young man appears in the picture just mentioned, and that he may well have been our painter, who was about twenty-seven years old at the time.

\* \* \*

We have already touched on the various attributions given to the two principal figures of the opposite fresco, Jesus and S. John the Baptist. But we are ourselves inclined to ascribe both to Perugino, disregarding the fact of his having made the Baptist rather more haggard than usual, when on comparison we find the relation of the two figures and their action almost identical in Perugino's *Baptisms* in the galleries of Vienna, London and Perugia,

\* The custom that obtained among masters, of painting the heads and leaving the rest to their assistants, is noted, as we shall see later, in a document relating to Pintoricchio.

† Schmarzow does not believe that the Perugino drawing of the *Baptism of Christ* at Frankfort-on-the-Main was made for the Sistine fresco. We doubt that it is by Perugino at all; the execution, somewhat minute, dry, and laboured, seems rather to point to some pupil. Jos. Schönbrunner and Jos. Meder, *Handzeichnungen aller Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1900), No. 463. Morelli, iii. p. 267. The Louvre drawing (Morelli, iii. pp. 174 and 267) served for the *Baptism* in the Perugia Gallery.



FRESCO OF THE "BAPTISM OF CHRIST"  
IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL

*Art Museum, photo*





upon them, but rather from the treatment of the shadows, the strokes of which show like those of the chisel in unfinished sculpture. They have placid, contemplative eyes. Perugino's portraits, on the other hand, are more delicately executed in the heads, modelled with bold high lights, and illumined by more brilliant eyes. We therefore recognise his hand in this fresco, not only in the angels kneeling behind Jesus,\* but in the portraits on the right, and those of five persons on the left: a youth with clasped hands, and four persons standing behind him, one of whom, his head bent, his face brightly illumined, his eyes full of animation, points out the Saviour to his neighbour. All the repose of sentiment and execution proper to Pintoricchio seem to us to stamp the portraits (in very bad preservation, it is true), that close the composition. These figures are gathered round one of the usual sages, wearing a cap with upturned flaps, and a voluminous mantle, his back to the spectator, a personage the master borrowed from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and introduced in his own frescoes throughout his life.



Anderson, photo.

DRAWING FOR THE "BAPTISM OF CHRIST"

VENICE SKETCH BOOK

The hand of Pintoricchio is, however, still more evidently manifested in the rich groups of the background, the men, women and children, listening on the one hand to the Saviour, on the other to the Baptist, who are preaching from a mount; the naked youths descending into the Jordan with S. John to be baptized; the Eternal Father in an iridescent disc, studded with seraphim, between two running angels, intertwined with ribbons, and above all the marvellous landscape of cloven rocks, hills shaded by trees, and in the valley, a town, far distant, and a walled one closer at hand, with Roman buildings, representing, with something of a poet's licence, the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, the Pantheon, and a bell-tower with a double line of windows, such as the painter might have seen at S. Maria di Trastevere, at S. Silvestro, at San Giorgio in Velabro, &c.

In the Venice Sketch Book there are certain pen-and-ink drawings, by Pintoricchio, of figures that occur in the groups of the background of the *Baptism of Christ*, as, for instance (reversed), the two male figures, seen almost from behind, standing with legs apart, listening to the words of the Redeemer; the seated woman, in profile, who, with the addition of two baby-boys, omitted in the drawing, assists at the preaching of John the Baptist, and the head of another woman, standing in front of her, and looking at her. On the other hand, we cannot accept the drawing of the naked youth, his right hand hanging by his side, and his left upraised, as a study for the small figure talking to

\* Neither in type nor execution do these angels seem to be derived directly from Fiorenzo, as Schmarsow asserts, nor do they suggest Pintoricchio, as Steinmann supposes.

a man in the group of three nude figures on the river bank.\* Neither the pose of the legs nor that of the arms corresponds. The uplifted hand, in the act of raising a vase, and the feet of the kneeling adult, to be seen in the corner of the drawing, in front of him, show clearly that this study was copied from, or made for, a representation of the *Epiphany*.



Anderson, photo.

DRAWING FOR AN "EPIPHANY," IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL  
VENICE SKETCH BOOK.

But we must repeat, that even if we accept in full, or almost so, Morelli's acute conclusions as to the Venice Sketch Book (a collection of some hundred drawings sold to the Milanese painter, Giuseppe Bossi, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by him ascribed to Raphael),† we shall not, therefore, be ready to assign to Pintoricchio all the figures in pictures and frescoes that correspond with drawings in this collection. Among these drawings, in fact, there are, as Morelli himself points out, some that the master made as souvenirs, as studies, and certainly also as materials for future use, after various other artists, such as Justus, of Ghent, Leonardo, Pollajuolo, Luca Signorelli, Mantegna, and Perugino.‡

From the last-named, for instance, he copied, with all the conscientious precision of a pupil, the sublime figure of the Apostle who rises above the S. Peter,

knelling to receive the keys, in the Sistine Chapel itself. It is, therefore, obvious that he may also have taken from cartoons prepared or figures painted by Perugino, many drawings corresponding to portions of the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Journey of Moses*, still in existence, and to the destroyed frescoes, formerly on the wall now occupied by Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.

We shall see farther on how, in the Borgia Rooms, and in the Cathedral Library at Siena, he made use of Oriental costumes drawn by Gentile Bellini.

In any case, the comparison made by Morelli between the undisputed juvenile drawings of Raphael, and the majority of those in the Venice Sketch Book, leads us to reject the Urbinate's authorship of all these, save perhaps two, contrary to the

\* Morelli, iii. p. 353. Gustavo Frizzoni, in his review of Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, in the *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, i. (Rome, 1888), p. 298. The said Frizzoni furnished us with notices and photographs.

† Giuseppe Bossi, *Memorie inedite*, in *L'Archivio storico Lombardo*, v. (Milan, 1878), pp. 287 and 288.

‡ Morelli, iii. pp. 176-190, 338-275, *Noch einmal das Venetianische Skizzenbuch*. Henry Thode, *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, ii. p. 52, in 1889 declared himself still unconvinced that the drawings of the Venice Sketch Book are by the hand of Pintoricchio, and stated his belief that they are by some Umbrian artist who imitated his compatriots, taking Pintoricchio as his model for the most part. We hope that in the years that have since elapsed, Thode has been persuaded of the force of most, at least, of Morelli's arguments.

opinion expressed by Bossi, Cicognara,\* Celotti,† Selvatico,‡ Passavant,§ Crowe and Cavalcaselle,|| Eugène Muntz¶ and others. These drawings of Pintoricchio's show in general, long, meagre, and angular forms; but their slenderness does not imply liteness. In nearly all we note a uniformity of technique: long strokes of a very sharp pen, and shadows marked by very close cross-hatchings; the same hook-like folds, with alternating curves, forming groups below; the same types, with bony hands and feet, sharp, dry ears, and knees modelled with two strokes, in the form of a crescent.

\* Marco Tabarrini, *Memorie de Gino Capponi* (Florence, 1879), pp. 205-207 (note).

† Luigi Celotti, *Disegni originali di Raffaello per la prima Volta pubblicati, esistenti nella R. Accademia di belle Arti di Venezia* (Venice, 1829).

‡ *Catalogo delle Opere d'Arte contenute nella Sala delle Sedute della I. R. Accademia di Venezia* (Venice, 1854), pp. 30-36.

§ *Raffaello d'Urbino e il Padre suo Giovanni Santi* (Florence, 1882-1891), vol. iii. pp. 90-107.

|| *Raffaello* (Florence, 1884-1891), i. pp. 55-68, &c.

¶ *Raphael* (Paris, 1881). M. Muntz has, however, modified his opinions to some extent (see second edition of his *Raphael*, Paris, 1889).



## CHAPTER III

### THE BUFALINI CHAPEL

FIRST INDEPENDENT WORK IN ROME—THE BUFALINI OF CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—THEIR CHAPEL IN THE ARA COELI—THE VAULT—EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF SAN BERNARDINE—HIS BURIAL—HIS GLORIFICATION—THE PONZIANI CHAPEL IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA CECILIA

WE agree that the first great work executed by Pintoricchio in Rome, either single-handed, or with the aid of assistants chosen and directed by himself, was the decoration of the Bufalini Chapel in the Church of Ara Coeli. Historical and artistic evidences with which we shall deal presently support this theory, as does also the fact that it was a commission from an Umbrian family, who, like Perugino, had had the opportunity of knowing the young painter in his native place, and who, appreciating his worth, helped him to make himself known and esteemed in the artistic capital of the world.

Following out his own bent, no longer stimulated by the fiery example of the latter-day Florentines, he gave himself up in Ara Coeli to his native simplicity, and turned to the sweet and modest art of Umbria, the art of Fiorenzo and Perugino, certain of whose characteristics he adopted, enriching his manner, however, under the influence of Luca Signorelli and Melozzo da Forlì, from whom he gleaned certain figures of angels, and that of Benozzo Gozzoli, to whom he owed his clear and coherent composition.\*

Pintoricchio was here requested to treat a subject that must have been a favourite one with him from his early years. The memory of S. Bernardine, who in 1425 had stirred all Umbria, moving the minds of men to a devout exaltation, was still green in Perugia, where various important works of art inspired by his life had perpetuated the popular reverence and admiration for him.†

\* Vasari, iii. p. 502, and Sigismondo Tizio (*Storia inedita* in the Siena Library, fol. 460). Fragment published by Vermiglioli, Appendix lxiii., and by Luigi Billi, Siena, 1900. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assign this work to the year 1496; Schmarsow and, of course, Steinmann after him, to 1484–86. In spite of the fact that Vasari and Sigismondo Tizio had given the name of the painter, the frescoes were variously ascribed to Francesco da Castello, to Benozzo Gozzoli (*Il Mercurio Errante*, Rome, 1760, p. 209), to Signorelli, &c. Giulio Mancini, *Bibliotheca Altera*, no. 1228, quoted by Padre Casimiro Romano, in *Memorie istoriche della Chiesa e Convento di Santa Maria in Araceli di Roma*, Rome, 1736, p. 37.

† Pellini, *Historia di Perugia*, ii. p. 294. *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, v. p. 257, May 24. *San Bernardino Senensis, Opera Omnia* (Lyons, 1650), see Life in the preface. Padre Amadio da Venezia, *Vita di S. Bernardino da Siena*, (Monza, 1873). Paul Thureau Dangin, *Saint Bernardin de Sienne* (Paris, 1876), &c.



San Bernardino (Fragment), Church of the Ara Cœli, Rome





Adjoining the Church of San Francesco del Prato, Agostino di Duccio had, in 1461, built an oratory dedicated to the saint, a delicate embroidery of symbolic figures in relief, of ornaments interwoven with beasts and flowers, the loveliest and most life-like images of the joy of spring. We have already noted the banner painted by Buonfigli, and the miniatures of Fiorenzo and his first disciples on the small which panels record the miracles of the saint. It might almost be said that there was not a church in the Marches or throughout Tuscany, especially in the districts of Siena and Arezzo, to which some figure of S. Bernardine did not add its realistic note, varying according to the form of expression given it by different artists: refined and sincere amidst the fruits and rich stuffs of Crivelli, who worked in the Marches; sentimental to the verge of caricature with Nicolò di Foligno; melancholy and terror-stricken with Buonfigli; calm and distinguished with Fiorenzo; mild and amiable with Perugino; severe with Luca Signorelli.

Pintoricchio, without departing from the iconographic tradition, created a figure all his own, fleshless and ascetic, a saint aflame with seraphic ardour. In his youthful picture at Torre d'Andrea, he had already made a first attempt to render S. Bernardine's actual type and his religious intensity; but he had not been very successful either in the one attempt or the other.

When, on the other hand, he attempted the theme again in the Ara Coeli, he was in the full possession of all his powers, a possession which maintained an admirable equilibrium between the technical and moral faculties. He did not attempt to put into his faces a greater depth of sentiment than he was capable of portraying; he showed no desire to overload his architecture and framework with gold and ornaments, as in the Borgia Rooms; he did not seek for effect in crowds of figures and in variety and violence of colour, as in the Siena Library; his whole work is instinct with such a delicious harmony of composition, of drawing, and of tints, such a radiance, a simplicity, a repose, that the soul of S. Bernardine might have inspired and directed the master, as formerly in the case of the painter Valerio, curbing with its modest reticence the craftsman who, a little later, in the apartments of a vicious Pope, was to run riot in unchastened splendour.

But in the Ara Coeli he was touched by the humility of the saint whose name he bore, and perhaps, as he worked, he mingled with what he read of his life, and what the monks suggested to him, recollections of stories heard in childhood from his mother and his grandmother, who had seen the saint preaching at Perugia from the pulpit on the outside of the Cathedral, and making peace between enemies who had many a time assembled in hot haste for deeds of violence and blood.

It is said, indeed, that Pintoricchio was commissioned by the Bufalini of Città di Castello to paint these frescoes in the Chapel of the Ara Coeli in memory of the peace established by S. Bernardine between their ancestors and the Baglioni (a peace that succeeded to the most ferocious insults to honour and person), and other benefits received.\*

\* Filippo Titi (of Città di Castello, like the Bufalini), *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture ed Architetture esposte al Pubblico in Roma* (Rome, 1763), p. 189; the first edition dates from 1686. Padre F. Casimiro, *Memorie di Santa Maria in Araceli*, quoted, pp. 36-38. Aless. Certini, *Chiese e Monasteri Tifernati*, MS. in the archives of the Cathedral of Città di Castello, quoted by Magherini-Graziani, *op. cit.* p. 177.

The portraits and arms of the Bufalini, their burial vault, an episode in the background of the painting on the end wall of their chapel, and the documents of the archives of Ara Coeli quoted by Father Casimiro combine to confirm the ancient tradition.

With regard to the original possession of this Chapel by the Bufalini, we have, in addition to the tomb with the name of Nicola di Castello, the testimony of a document quoted by Father Casimiro, which states that on November 16, 1547, Ventura Bufalini gave orders to the custodian and sacristan of Ara Coeli "that henceforth the nuns of Sant' Elisabetta should no longer be interred in the tomb to the left in her Chapel of S. Bernardine, but only the descendants of the house of Alcherigi, they being kin to her. And this, no doubt, is the tomb on which was inscribed: *Et Amicorum Suorum*, as we read in a document in the sacristy, written towards the end of the sixteenth century." It goes on to say that here, nevertheless, was buried Gerolama Bufalini, wife of Angelo Colozzi, afterwards Bishop of Nocera, and that the legal ownership of the Chapel passed in the seventeenth century to Cardinal Giulio Mazzarini, son of Pietro Mancini and of Ortensia Bufalini, as appears from an act of April 4, 1646. We may add that the right thereto passed subsequently to the Mancini family, and was transmitted in 1753 by Benedict XIV. to Jacopo Reali,\* Canon of the Vatican Basilica, and afterwards to the Marchesi Origo, to whom it now belongs.

\* \* \*

The chapel, square on plan, is divided and decorated with the utmost freedom and simplicity, and here again we have another evidence of the priority of this work to others undertaken by Pintoricchio in Rome. In the four angles he painted pilasters with an ornamentation of candelabra in *grisaille* on a dark red ground, even more sober in design than those painted on a gold ground by his master in the Church of San Giorgio at Perugia.† These pilasters rise from high bases, between which runs a plinth, or divided balustrade of simple rectangles and rhombs, with ornament on a red and yellow ground. Two *putti* in *grisaille* in the middle raise a garland from the rayed *chrisma* of San Bernardino, and the bases themselves are adorned with delicate medallions. We need hardly say that of this decoration only a wreck remains, bedaubed with whitewash, through which the beautiful forms of the *putti* emerge partially, smiling like rays of sunshine breaking through clouds.

The divisions above the balustrade are different on all three walls. A single design occupies the whole of that facing the door; an architrave, with a frieze of masks, ovals and cornucopias, divides the left wall into a square and a lunette. The long window on the right, on the other hand, induced the painter to divide the lower part of the wall into three pictures, and to complete the lunette at the sides of the arch of the real window architectonically. Finally, the vault, on intersecting arches, is decorated with fillets, plaits, and ovoloes along the ribs, which meet in the middle in the symbol of the saint, and in each of its sections shows the figure of an Evangelist seated on clouds against a blue background studded with stars, a motive of true trecentist modesty.

We take pleasure in noting that the dexterous firmness of the drawing, the variety

\* Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri Edifici di Roma del Secolo XI. fino ai Giorni nostri*, vol. i. (Rome, 1869), p. 265.

† Now in the Perugia Gallery.



*Anderson, photo*

VAULT OF THE BUFALINI CHAPEL, ARA CELI, ROME





of the motives, and the masterly handling shown in the decoration of the pilasters, plainly demonstrating Pintoricchio's proficiency, prove how little he himself worked on such ornament later, when, overwhelmed with commissions, he gathered round him an over-numerous band of, for the most part, mediocre assistants. In the Ara Cœli pilasters, elegance of design is coupled with distinction of technical treatment. A few strokes on the coloured background evoke *putti*, animals and foliage. On the pilasters of the arched entrance, on the soffit of which he painted seven coffered compartments, he finally suspended rich clusters of fruit, fastened together with cords, a motive specially characteristic of Tuscan art, and perhaps first seen by him in the sculptures of Agostino di Duccio. Let us now consider the vault, with the decoration of which Pintoricchio naturally began his work in the chapel. It is in very bad condition, and as early as the first half of the eighteenth century Padre Casimiro spoke of its damaged state. The figure of S. Matthew has suffered greatly from damp and re-painting, which have disfigured the foreshortened face, made the draperies heavy, and impaired the beauty of the kneeling angel, who holds out the pen to the evangelist with his left hand, perhaps the only part of him which is still intact. Very little, too, remains of the aged S. John, save the grandiose head with its wealth of hair and flowing white beard. The restorer, re-painting the clouds, has completely obliterated the eagle. Gone, too, is the ox of the S. Luke, another figure not a single portion of which remains uninjured. The S. Mark, on the other hand, in his full yellow mantle lined with green, and his violet tunic, is in relatively good condition. The master's hand is still apparent in the vigorous square head (the brown carnations in strong contrast to the white hair), and in the attentive hands that guide the pen. Crouching beside him is a lion of somewhat dubious form with a rugged human face!\* These four seated figures of Evangelists, of the proportions of which it is still possible to judge, all have the defect of heads extremely small as compared with their long and massive bodies. The same defect is noticeable in the



*Alinari, photo.*

INVESTITURE OF S. BERNARDINE  
BUFALINI CHAPEL, 1513-1514, ROME

\* There are two sketches of lions in the Venice Sketch Book, but they differ from that of the Ara Cœli.

Madonna of the Siena *tondo*, another juvenile work ; and we shall find it gradually modified in later works, till it is scarcely apparent.

The west wall, in which is the window, has a fresco dedicated to S. Francis, to whose order S. Bernardine belonged, but we cannot agree with those who hold the



*Antiquarian Photo.*

A MONK RELATING THE HISTORY OF S. BERNARDINE  
BUPALINI CHAPEL, ARA COELI, ROME

*Investiture* depicted to be that of the former saint, and not of S. Bernardine. The taking of the habit by S. Francis is treated altogether differently in legends and in pictures from the time of the *Fioretti* and Giotto onwards. The saint is represented as naked, certainly, but with his father close by, threatening him, and Bishop Guido shielding and protecting him. But in the Ara Coeli fresco the naked kneeling youth is about to receive the habit from a Franciscan monk, behind whom is a numerous gathering of other Francis-

cans, and although we cannot rely very much on a strict observance of chronology in paintings of the period, it is certain that no artist ever depicted S. Francis undergoing initiation at the hands of monks who were non-existent when he took the habit, and who owed their origin to his self-renunciation!

The nudity of the novice, his cast-off raiment, the bowl of despised gold pieces, the casket of treasures, and the books are much more consonant with the renunciation of S. Bernardine than with that of the poor youth of Assisi. He is known to have abandoned the study of the "humanities" and of rhetoric for that of canon law and theology ; to have cast off the rich vesture of the noble for the coarse woollen tunic and the hair-shirt ; to have sold all his goods at Massa near Siena in order to give the sums thus obtained and various precious objects to the destitute, to hospitals, and to churches, and, finally, to have presented himself, "poor and joyful," to Father Giovanni Ristori to receive the sacred habit.

In the fresco, Bernardine, a young man of twenty-two, naked save for a drapery of violet stuff about his loins, with bowed head, downcast eyes, and folded hands, a figure painted with ideal refinement and modelled with an "anatomical suavity" worthy of Pintoricchio, waits for the Father to pass the tunic over his head. The figure of the latter (doubtless a portrait) expresses the utmost solicitude and attention. Behind him are massed the attendant monks. A youth, with an exquisite face of almost feminine beauty, and close by him a thoughtful head with fixed eyes, are almost intact ; but an upheaval of the plaster has damaged the grey choir in the centre, causing the unfortunate re-touches of several of the other heads. The folds of the draperies are treated with a



lordly breadth soon abandoned by Pintoricchio, just as he soon abandoned the sobriety of colour, which led him to be satisfied here with scarcely more than *grisaille*, in which the architectonic portions and the band of monks are relieved against a soft grey ground. The carnations of the heads appear but faintly over the light tunics; they have a golden tinge and the warm transperence of alabaster, akin to the flames of tapers burning with



Anderson, photo

S. BERNARDINE IN THE DESERT  
BUFALINI CHAPEL, ARA C'ELI, ROME

a pale glow in the full blaze of daylight. The only strong chromatic notes are struck in the lower part of the fresco by the blue and red and gold of the books, the mantle, and the money, and the contrast still further enhances the value of the tonality above. In the background is a ruined wall, above which appears the Virgin with the Child and two cherubs, and on the left, foreshortened, a chapel, the arch resting on pilasters ornamented in *grisaille*, an altar below, and above, on the cornice, a *putto*, also in *grisaille*, holding in one hand a battle-axe, and in the other a shield with the device of the Bufalini, the head of a buffalo with a rose between the horns, on a white field.

The other fresco, corresponding to the *Investiture*, and representing *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, is very much damaged in the lower part, and altogether of less importance, owing to a certain hardness in the figures and an over-faithful adherence to the traditional treatment of the subject: the friar seated on the ground, reading;

S. Francis, his left knee on the ground, irradiated by the crucified Saviour encircled by the wings of seraphim. The heads here, with their conventional treatment, appear perhaps colder and more timid than they actually are, from their vicinity to the portraits. In addition, the greater part of the background has been re-painted, as also the bridge over the river, the tree in front of it, and more than three-quarters of the "hard stone" beneath the hermit of La Verna.

Under the window, between the two frescoes above described, is painted a group of five figures of no very precise significance, but important by reason of the three portraits it contains. A friar, his head in a cowl, his left hand holding a rosary, raises his right as if in the act of narrating. He is, indeed, supposed to be relating the story of the marvellous life of S. Bernardine, of which, perhaps, he had been an eye-witness. He is an old man, wrinkled, bent, and weary; his eyes are fixed, so absorbed is he in his idea, and he knits his brows as if recalling distant memories to his languid brain.

A second friar at his side, with a fat, contented face, his thin lips compressed, his left hand uplifted admiringly, is obviously another portrait, as is also the even finer and more characteristic head of the ecclesiastic in a magisterial robe, with a dark biretta drawn down upon his large ears. His long aquiline nose, yellow complexion, light eyes, and melancholy expression proclaim the professional bigot, who may perhaps have been the Bufalini who was Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, and whose name occurs in a document of 1495 dealing with Pintoricchio.\*

The youth in the right-hand corner of the fresco may also be a portrait, but of this it is difficult to judge in its present ruined state. On the other hand, the man in the mantle and turban praying on the left seems to be a purely fanciful figure. Behind him is a piece of rising ground, beyond which a cavalcade is passing. Further away we see the walls of a convent, above the door of which is painted a Madonna among angels, to whom a kneeling youth raises his hands in supplication from below. This is, perhaps, Bernardine before he became a friar, at the walls of the Minorite monastery outside the Porta Ovale at Siena, in the valley of Ravacciano.

In the lunette of this wall, in which is the arch of the window, are painted two smaller windows with marble mouldings, in the heads of which are medallions, now partly obliterated. On the sill of one stands a peacock, whose tail descends to the frieze; in the other is a half-length of the Eternal Father giving the benediction, the globe in his left hand, and three seraphim round his head.

But all this has long been a wreck, as appears from Padre Casimiro's remarks, and the instruments, the trophies of arms and the *putto* that appear on the summit, over the aperture of the real window, are likewise hopelessly damaged and re-painted.

\* \* \*

The fresco of the opposite lunette does not, as has been supposed, represent S. Bernardine as a penitent in the district of Aquila in Abruzzo, when he was already advanced in years, but rather S. Bernardine still in Siena at the age of twenty, when, having resolved to become a monk, he retired "to a secret place" near the Porta Tufi to prove himself, and built a rustic altar to the Crucified One. "He doubled the number

\* Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* Appendix X.

of his customary prayers," says Padre Amadio, "increased his vigils, intensified the severity of his discipline, and the harshness of his hair-shirts, and fasted so rigorously that at last he brought himself to eat only herbs and roots, and to drink nothing but a little water. . . . All the time that remained to him after his devout exercises, he spent in meditations on holy Scripture."

In the fresco he is, in fact, represented reading in a book bound in red with gold



*Anderson photo.*

FUNERAL OF S. BERNARDINE  
BUFALINI CHAPEL, S. I. A. COLLE, ROME

bosses. His face, enframed in long, fair hair, sharp and meagre as the head of a bird, already foreshadows that type of his more advanced age traditionally assigned to him by painters. His fleshless hands and feet have strongly marked nails; but in colour they are youthfully smooth and transparent. Wrapped in a loose white mantle, he stands erect on a mound on the right covered with grass and flowers, near a grotto in the shade of a grove, the tree-trunks of which, with their various barks, are very carefully studied. A rabbit browses fearlessly among them. A crowd of curious spectators watches the future saint from a distance. An elegantly dressed youth, seen from behind, makes a vivid note of colour in the centre of the painting with his blue hose and red doublet. His right hand uplifted, he points out S. Bernardine to an old man in a turban and an ample green mantle, perhaps commiserating him or scoffing at such self-immolation, for he himself, true son of the Renaissance, combines the enjoyment of life with a free use



of the dagger in his girdle! Another old man looks at him in amazement, raising a hand in mingled stupor and indignation at the light or evil words of the speaker. Close to him is a youth, in profile, wearing a red doublet and cap, his face, fair as a flower, emerging from a cluster of golden curls; its beauty is enhanced by contrast with the bronzed carnations of the Dominican monk beside him.

The remaining figures on the left are much damaged and re-painted, as is also the extreme background, where nothing perhaps remains of the master's own handiwork but an imaginary Siena, with the trees and roads in front of it.

The Funeral of S. Bernardine, below this lunette, seems to us one of the simplest, most harmonious, and most serene of Pintoricchio's works; in general design and in detail, in the figures as well as the architecture, a work savouring both of Umbria and of Tuscany, neither absolutely modest and symmetrical after the fashion of Perugino, nor daringly complex like the Florentine frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, but perfectly balanced as the productions of Benozzo Gozzoli, whom Pintoricchio had certainly studied and admired at Montefalco, where so many of the Umbrian painters had been encouraged and strengthened to give life to their figures and richness to their compositions.\*

We are in a vast piazza. To the left, in perspective, is a building of the purest Renaissance style, with a portico on pilasters painted with gold candelabra on a blue ground, the inner wall relieved by a slight ornamentation. Under this portico and beneath the arches are various persons, old and young, in attitudes expressing sorrow, some with their hands uplifted in a gesture of mournful amazement, others with hands clasped and eyes upraised in prayer. The small figures more to the left have suffered; but the two youths emerging from between the arches, very possibly portraits, have preserved all their primitive grace and beauty.

On the opposite side of the piazza is a plain private house, on the door of which are carved the words *Ave Gratia*, and the device of the Bufalini. Two small figures, re-painted, are conversing on the bench outside. Further to the right is painted the episode of Genutia supported by two men, and freeing herself from the devil, who is issuing from her mouth. An open portico, built out from the mansion towards the centre of the piazza, supports a loggia lightly ornamented with gold on the pediments, the frieze and the capitals.† In the sky above, in a glory upheld by four angels, rises the naked soul of S. Bernardine, a small figure very much damaged. Beneath the portico is painted the other miracle of the youth killed by a mad bull near Prato, and restored to life by S. Bernardine in 1425, merely by making the sign of the cross.

In the distance beyond is a range of blue and greenish mountains, with a town on the summit; then the clear and vast horizon of the sea, studded with boats. Finally, in the centre of the painting rises one of those octagonal temples crowned with cupolas so dear to the Umbrian painters, Fiorenzo, Perugino, Raphael, &c.

\* The Abbé Broussolle has written a book (*La Jeunesse du Perugin et les Origines de l'Ecole Ombrienne*, Paris, 1901) in support of the thesis that the influence of Florentine art was disastrous to that of Umbria. Incidentally, he re-arranges the artistic geography of Italy, declaring that Umbrian art is nothing but the art of the Papal States, according to which argument the Bolognese painters become Umbrians! He maintains that this is the most authentic heritage of primitive Christian art, and excludes Luca Signorelli from the number of Umbrian painters! Fortunately, the Abbé Broussolle's history makes us forgive his criticism and his philosophy.

† A building differing but slightly from this appears in the background of the *Tiberio Gracco* at Buda-Pesth, a picture of the school of Luca Signorelli, and also in a *tondo*, of the Umbrian school, in the Brera at Milan.

This Renaissance building rests on a flight of steps on which are disposed various beggars and devout persons, and a cripple, perhaps in allusion to the one spoken of by Padre Amadio in his *Life of S. Bernardine*: "Having set out one day to preach in a church, he was seen by a poor cripple seated by the way . . . who, addressing him, said he had long desired to be present at one of his sermons, but that the infirmity of his legs had prevented it. Whereupon the saint asked him: 'Believest thou that I could heal thee in the name of Jesus?' The cripple having answered yes, the saint took him by the hand, and raised him from the ground, so perfectly whole that he began with joy to walk along freely."

From the church issues a band of Franciscans, walking two and two, at their head a sweet-faced friar bearing the standard. They advance in a line parallel with the portico on the left, towards a bier covered with a dark green drapery studded with gold, on which lies the corpse of S. Bernardine in his habit, his head resting on a red cushion, his limbs rigidly composed, the feet laid together, the hands folded. The skin of the white and tranquil face follows the form of the bony structure beneath, revealing the jaw with the characteristic pointed chin. In front of the bier are two *putti*, so much re-painted that only a part of the hair and the eye of one of them remain intact. Near them on the ground is a cradle containing an infant with the swollen face of the newly born, some little Bufalini boy or girl recommended to the protection of the saint.

At the head and feet of the corpse, four friars, a pair at either end, incline themselves reverently, their gestures, if not their faces, expressing deep grief. They are painted with great simplicity; the old man on the left is the same who relates the history of S. Bernardine on the opposite wall, while the bareheaded young monk beside him with folded hands resembles the young friar in the *Investiture*, and is of angelic sweetness of type, the carnations of his face so macerated that they stand out from the grey of the habit with all the delicacy of a semitone. A further identification may be made of the monk in the foreground at the head of the bier, with the one about to clothe the youthful S. Bernardine in the habit of the order. All are, in fact, portraits of the good Observant Minorites who were domiciled in the monastery of Ara Cœli while Pintoricchio was painting, and no doubt lingered in the chapel to converse with him and admire the animated figures of his brush. Among the friars are certain sick or deformed persons, who approach the body of the saint to be healed; a mother holds up her suffering child; the crippled and tattered Pasquale, with a wound on his forehead, raises the stump of his arm; Cola, the blind man of Rocca Marsicana, touches his eyes, from which the



Anderson, photo

PORTRAIT OF C. BUFALINI  
BUFALINI CHAPEL, ARA CœLI, ROME

darkness was dispelled of yore more easily than will be the injuries done by a clumsy restorer!

To the left, solemnly erect, in an ample robe of gold brocade lined with miniver, a red biretta on his head, a taper in his right hand, his gloves in the other, stands Nicola Bufalini, Consistorial Advocate and *Abbate di Parco Majori*, who died in 1506, more than twenty years after having commissioned Pintoricchio to paint these frescoes. The refined face, already marked by a few furrows, and enframed in grey hair that is almost white, is that of a man of about sixty. In front of him a page, in parti-coloured hose and lilac sleeves, holds up Nicola's great sword, and behind him a youth with fair curls casts up his eyes with the usual affected languor, as does also the weeping friar not far from him.

More important, as regards the variety and beauty of its types, is the group on the opposite side of the fresco, in which the portraits and the group of young women hide the fancy figures in the second row, which are limited to the old bearded man on the extreme right, the old woman with the hooked nose and the pointed chin, emphasised to the verge of caricature, the other old woman with the black hood of a nun, and the man in the biretta and yellow mantle, who stands behind the monks. The two highest figures in the right-hand corner, immediately beneath the Genutia episode, are evidently portraits. The man in the red cap is said to be Perugino, and the one with his head thrown back and his hands folded in prayer, Pintoricchio, adoring his patron and namesake; but we must own that we fail to recognise the features of the two masters! Next comes the figure of the younger Bufalini in the foreground, wearing a dark under-dress, a pink robe, and a dark red cap. He holds up his gown at the girdle and looks straight before him. His head, with its aureole of fair hair, is treated with all the solicitude and delicacy of execution proper to an easel picture, and the careful realism of the conception naturally detracts from the sentiment appropriate to the occasion, and makes him appear indifferent to the ceremony.

In front of him, in a brocaded robe, on which hangs a pouch of golden scales, we recognise the peculiar type of the youth we have already seen in the lunette above, with his long nose, pouting lips, and luxuriant fair hair. He, too, is painted with all the trenchancy of one of Pisanello's medals in sharp profile. He has beautifully formed hands; the lower part of his dress and his feet are re-painted. On his right, also in profile, is the brilliant figure of a woman who resembles him, and who was no doubt his mother, the wife of the younger Bufalini. Her fair hair is twisted into a pink veil, rolled round into the shape of a ram's horn; a green gown shot with gold is cut out at the breast, showing a white chemisette pinned together under the throat. Beside her are two other female figures, also portraits. The one on the right conversing with the old woman, is cold and pallid in type; she wears a dark gown, with a chain round her neck, and a string of beads round her head with a jewelled ornament on her forehead; the young mother suckling her infant on the left is sweeter in expression and complexion. Was this child, or perhaps the other in the cradle by the bier, Girolama Mancini, who at the beginning of the sixteenth century married Angelo Colozzi di Jesi, and was buried in this very chapel, leaving a husband who survived her long enough to enjoy a brilliant ecclesiastical career?\*

\* Federigo Ubaldini, *l'ita di Angiolo Colozzi, l'escovo di Nocera (1677)*; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1717), i.



Let us look, in conclusion, at the *Glorification of S. Bernardine*, which occupies the whole of the wall behind the altar. Over the balustrade or plinth Pintoricchio, to bring his composition well above the altar, was obliged to add on each side a step, on which he simulated a bas-relief; even in their damaged condition these show traces of the utmost facility of handling. A triumphal car with a canopy, under which is an emperor, passes along drawn by fiery horses, and surrounded by warriors bearing standards and



Anderson, photo.

GROUP FROM THE FUNERAL OF S. BERNARDINE

M. A. H. I. N. I. C. C. H. I. O, ART. CO. 11, ROME

lances. Preceding it (on the other side of the fresco) is a group of soldiers armed with lances (among them a satyr with a torch), driving before them naked slaves, while a young cavalier supports a female slave, also naked, on his horse.

In the painting above, the three figures of S. Bernardine, S. Louis of Toulouse, and S. Anthony of Padua rise in statuesque grandeur and isolation from a stretch of green meadow land, much injured by re-touches, between a gigantic palm and cypress. On the left rise masses of rock, piled vertically and horizontally, in the shapes affected by Fiorenzo and many other Umbrian masters, forming apertures through which the sky appears.

pp. 1072-3; Girolamo Baldassino, *Memorie Istoriche di Jesi* (Jesi, 1765), pp. 235-6. Colocci, who remained a widower, was secretary to Leo X. and Clement VII. Appointed coadjutor to Varino, Bishop of Nocera in Umbria, in 1521, he succeeded him in the bishopric, which he resigned in 1543, returning to Rome, where he had a house in the Rione Parione. He died in 1549, and his body was taken to Jesi and buried in the cathedral there.

These crags Pintoricchio planted with trees, and crowned with a church, with a stately cupola and bell-tower, in front of which is the tail end of a cavalcade which reaches to the lower ground, consisting of warriors with lances, standards, and shields bearing the device of the Bufalini, and a group of foot-soldiers at their head, fighting round a corpse on the ground, covered with blood and dust. S. Bernardine appears, and thrusting himself between them, advances towards one who uplifts a sword, showing him the crucifix. One of the soldiers carries a blue shield traversed by a gold bar, the device of the Baglioni. This then is the tragic episode which, as we are told, determined the reverence shown by the Bufalini to S. Bernardine, the dedication of their chapel to the saint, and the theme of the decorations. Beyond these crags rise others with castles on their summits; further still we see a valley with a river, a village, and a town, perhaps the Tiber, with San Giustino and Città di Castello, domiciles of the Bufalini.

The central figure is S. Bernardine. He is represented as of the accustomed tall and meagre type, draped in his grey habit, with a very small head, emerging timidly from his cowl, and giving him a kind of likeness to a tortoise, bald, beardless, with large, pointed ears, a sharp chin, deep-set eyes, prominent cheek-bones, and strongly-marked, toothless jaws. His feet are cased in rough sandals; his waist is bound with a rope girdle, from which hangs a gilded spectacle case. He holds up his right hand, pointing heavenwards, and carries in his left an open book, inscribed with the abbreviation of the following words: *Pater manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*, either, as Padre Calvi says, in allusion to the evangelical preaching of the saint for forty years among the Italian cities, or to the circumstance of his death having taken place on the eve of Ascension Day, when the friars of the choir were chanting the antiphony which begins with these words.

Facing S. Bernardine, clad in the Franciscan habit like himself, is the devout figure of S. Anthony of Padua, much disfigured by repaints on the face and the lower part of the draperies. On his left hand burns a cluster of golden flames, the fire which the painters of the Sienese school were perhaps the first to bestow upon him, confounding him with S. Anthony Abbot; with his right he holds horizontally against his body a book on which is a heart.\*

In the background, between the two figures, on the slope of the hill, is a crowd of little figures, some seated, some standing, in a wide circle round a pulpit in the centre, from which S. Bernardine is preaching. In front of him and behind the auditors rises a high scaffolding in flames, with books and other objects fastened to it, on which a demon gesticulates mockingly, as if arguing against the preacher. It is one of those "castles" raised on the public piazzas under the direction of the saint, to burn offensive weapons, objects of luxury, of vice, and of vanity, invented by devils to lead souls into sin. "Knowing what pride had been bred in the Perugians of both sexes by dressing, gaming, superstitions, and other grave sins, in 1425 he set himself to persuade the men to collect together all the dice, cards, and gaming-boards they had in their houses, and the women in like manner all the false hair, rouge, and other things unseemly for their virtuous and decent adornment, and to send them to him; and he, seeing the readiness of the people, on the following Sunday, after saying mass and preaching, the whole city being assembled, caused all these things to be burnt in the middle of the piazza; and it is said that, in addition to the things mentioned, there were many

\* Ch. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'Art populaire* (Paris, 1867), pp. 234, 411.



jewels of value that gentlewomen had sent with the coifs and furbelows then in fashion."\* He also induced the people of Siena to make a similar purifying bonfire in 1426;† but it is certain that Pintoricchio intended to allude to the one that had taken place in his own country, and had been described to him by his elders.

Opposite to S. Anthony stands S. Louis of Toulouse, in a white mitre bordered with gold, white robes and gloves, his hands covered with rings, his flowered chasuble of gold brocade lined with blue and bordered with embroidered figures of saints. He holds the pastoral staff against his right shoulder, and in both hands an open book, over which he bends his head. This is one of the most admirable figures ever painted by Pintoricchio. The melancholy son of Charles II. was already a favourite personage in Umbrian art. His sad and solitary life in Barcelona, where his father left him for many years



Anderson, photo.

GLORIFICATION OF S. BERNARDINE  
RUFII CHAPEL, VATICAN, ROME

as a hostage, his renunciation of all the joys of life and all the allurements of a princess, his death at the early age of twenty-three, in 1297, just after his nomination to the bishopric of Toulouse by Boniface VIII.,‡ combined to make his personality one of great sweetness, pensive in its association with death and abandonment, rather than painful in its evocation of self-mortification and martyrdom. It is evident that in a figure like this, young, tranquil, and thoughtful, Umbrian art found its own characteristic sentiment, recognised itself, so to speak, and hence frequently evoked it with all the sweetness of its personal outlook, caressing it with maternal tenderness.

\* Pellini, *Historia di Perugia*, ii, p. 294. This episode was carved by Agostino di Duccio on the architrave of the oratory of S. Bernardine at Perugia.

† Amadio, *Vita di San Bernardino*, i, p. 197.

‡ Padre Anselme, *Histoire de S. Louis Evêque de Toulouse* (Avignon, 1713). H. Sedulius, *Vita S. Ludovici* (Antwerp, 1602).



Perugino, Pintoricchio, Tiberio d'Assisi, and a score of others, painted the young Provençal saint with real emotion.\* In the church of La Trinità at Orvieto, a disciple of Pintoricchio's has even reproduced the S. Louis from the Ara Coeli fresco with slight variations, together with the adjoining S. Anthony and S. Bernardine, over which hover two angels holding up a crown.

The similarity of these figures and of the general arrangement have given rise to the idea that this painting, and another in La Trinità, of the Madonna with various saints, under a glory of angels, were the work of Pintoricchio.† But the features, the treatment of the folds, the form of the extremities, the sentiment, and even the technique differ from that of the master, whereas they agree altogether with the lower part of the great fresco in the cloister of the Monastery of Campansi, now the Ricovero di Mendicanti of Siena, a work attributed to Matteo Balducci.‡ That he should have imitated Pintoricchio at Orvieto is not surprising, for he was his pupil! This is proved by a document of January 17, 1509, in which mention is made of him as an inmate of Pintoricchio's house.§ It is true that he also imitated Sodoma, but this was later, some years after the death of Pintoricchio, and after having worked for a time in 1516 with the Vercellian painter.||

But to return to the Ara Coeli fresco. Two fair-haired angels kneeling on clouds, one light, in his violet and yellow draperies, the other dark, in red and green, both with outspread wings and lilies in their hands, hold up a crown with gilded reliefs over S. Bernardine's head. Their beautiful heads are perfectly foreshortened, the colouring of the portions in relief being marked by a delicious fusion and sweetness; the hair flows loosely on their necks; their hands are exquisitely modelled.

Above them, in the centre of a glory of angels, in the usual almond-shaped radiance studded with seraphim, which have the familiar faun-like ears derived from Fiorenzo, rises the figure of the Saviour, well conceived in its expression of severe composure, but less beautiful than those by Perugino in the *Resurrection* of the Vatican and the *Ascension* of Borgo San Sepolcro, which it so greatly resembles. He wears the white raiment of the Resurrection; His breast is bare, showing the bleeding wound; rays of light shine from the holes in His hands and feet; His head is bowed beneath a wealth of chestnut hair. The attendant angels are divided into three zones: the lowest consists of four angels playing musical instruments, in wind-swept twisted draperies; their faces have all the Peruginesque sweetness, but they are treated after the manner of Melozzo, with light tints both in the robes and carnations, almost as if the air had made them vaporous.

Higher up are the two running angels with clasped hands, painted by all the Umbrian artists, and, finally, a group of seraph-heads, now partly obliterated, illuminated with gold on a green ground.

\* He is to be found, for instance, in the fresco of the Madonna and Child enthroned between four saints in the church of San Francesco at Stroncone (Province of Perugia). This painting we have no hesitation in ascribing to Tiberio d'Assisi, who, indeed, repeated the same Madonna on the same throne with the same S. Louis in 1510, in the church of San Francesco at Montefalco.

† I am indebted to C. Franci, of Orvieto, for this information and a photograph of the fresco.

‡ The upper part or lunette of this fresco, with a glory of numerous angels and saints, is the work of Girolamo di Benvenuto Senese. When the door was walled up beneath it, the Umbrian artist painted the Virgin and the lower group of saints.

§ S. Borghesi and L. Bianchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese* (Siena, 1898), p. 391.

|| Vasari, vi. p. 408.



San Bernardino (Fragment), Church of the Ara Celi, Rome





These decorations of the Ara Coeli chapel, so simple in composition, so delicate in execution, so full of tender beauty, are, to my mind, the healthiest and the most temperate of all Pintoricchio's works. I can think of nothing in which he has surpassed them. Later on he was to become broader in his treatment, more daring in the choice of colours, more decorative, richer; but never again did he achieve an expression of art at once so ingenuous and so tranquil.

But then his later inspiration was drawn from princes and popes, splendid and pleasure-loving; not from S. Bernardine of Siena.

A decoration that recalls that of the vault described above—and hence was formerly ascribed to Pintoricchio by Schmarsow, and supposed by him to have been executed immediately after the frescoes in the Ara Coeli, while others have assigned it to some disciple of the master's—is that of the Ponziani Chapel in Santa Cecilia, also in Rome.\*

The chapel has been transformed into a sacristy, and was, perhaps, divided from the body of the church in 1618, when the arch was filled in, that the monument of Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato might be placed against it. The date (1480), in which this chapel, "dedicated to God and S. Lawrence," as the inscription says, was restored by Battista Ponziani, permits and even supports Schmarsow's hypothesis; but the only intrinsic evidences in its favour are the excellence of the composition and the general scheme of decoration; for it would be futile to attempt any real examination of the drawing and colour, the whole being horribly disfigured by coarse daubing and re-painting, while the frescoes on the walls are covered with whitewash.

The vault rests on intersecting arches, forming a rhomb in the centre, on which is seated a colossal figure of God the Father in a glory of seraphim.

In the fillings of the arches are the four Evangelists with their symbols, much as in the Ara Coeli vault, and in the two lateral triangles, white ornaments on a yellow ground, clumsily restored in the seventeenth century.

The figure of the Eternal Father seems to be the best feature of the work, but the whole upper part of it, with the head and bust, is coated with dirt. It is only the reddish drapery from the knees to the feet that seems to indicate the hand of the master. The execution of the Evangelists SS. Matthew and Mark is inferior to the rest.

\* *Op. cit.* p. 20.

## CHAPTER IV

### FIRST DECORATIONS OF ROOMS

INNOCENT VIII.—THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN—DECORATIONS IN THE COLONNA PALACE  
AND THE PENITENZIERI PALACE SYSTEM OF ORNAMENT—"GROTESQUES"

TO SIXTUS IV., who died in August 1484, succeeded, after a brief conclave, Gian Battista Cybo, a Ligurian like his predecessor, who took the name of Innocent VIII. He soon brought about the union of the Italian princes and communes against the Turks, but then proceeded to make war upon Ferdinand of Naples and the Florentines. This was followed by the peace of 1486, accepted by the pontiff rather under stress of the coldness of his colleagues and the murmurs of the Romans, than because of the representations of the enemy. He demanded that the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta should send him Djem, the Sultan's brother, who had been for some years their prisoner in Auvergne, and duly obtained him. This stroke of diplomacy was the occasion of an embassy from Bajazet, scattering gold and precious things, for the Sultan, anxious to secure himself against the intrigues of his brother, offered the Pope a substantial consideration if he would keep Djem safely and guard him well!\*

The Pope accepted the bribe, but soon appealed to the Christian princes once more to combine against Bajazet; they all excused themselves, however, and as Matthew Corvinus had lately died, Bajazet threw himself upon Hungary, took several cities, wasted a great portion of the kingdom with fire and sword, and thus recouped himself for the forty-thousand *scudi* that had passed into the hands of the Pope. The latter finally made an alliance with the King of Naples, in the spring of 1497, from which he reaped no further advantage than that of dying at peace. Sickening shortly afterwards, he gave up his soul to God in July of the same year. He was by no means superior to Sixtus, his manners being notoriously depraved, and his main object in life the enrichment of his son Franceschetto. The only grounds for the indulgence of certain historians towards him, and the eulogies of his apologists, are the facts that on the whole he was a lover of peace, that he did not engage in long and disastrous wars, and that he raised many fine buildings in Rome. Panvinio says: "He took great delight in building, and accordingly erected the Deaconry of Santa Maria Inviolata and

\* L. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan, Fils de Mohammed II., Frère de Bayezid II., 1459-1495* (Paris, 1892), pp. 227-422. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1895), vol. iii. p. 216.

Santa Maria della Pace, and also the tribunes over the high altars of S. Peter and S. John Lateran. In the first court of the pontifical palace he caused to be built all the apartments that surround it, among them one that is very spacious and truly regal. Beautiful and graceful porticoes with delightful gardens were also made by his commands at the place known as the Belvedere, where Mantegna, a Mantuan painter and one of the first artists of his day, was employed. And as the Pope, embarrassed by the war in which he was engaged, did not give him what, or as much as, he had desired in payment, when the Pope one day entered a room in which Mantegna had modelled a figure which he kept covered, and asked him what this figure was, the artist promptly unveiled it, saying: "Holy Father, it is Discretion!" To which the Pope laughingly replied: "You should place beside it another figure, signifying Patience!"\* We know not if the witty anecdote, which is also related by Vasari,† is true. But it is at any rate certain that, in 1488, Innocent VIII., having begged Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to send him Mantegna to paint a little chapel in the Belvedere, the Marquis complied, and Mantegna painted there some exquisite things that have perished‡.

At this time Pintoricchio had already finished the decoration of some of the rooms and of the adjoining loggia, and the "1487" that occurs repeatedly in the vault of the loggia, now converted into the Sala delle Statue, certainly indicates, as was usual, the year in which the work was completed, work which must have occupied the greater part of the preceding year, if not more, as Vasari's words imply: "In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII., a Genoese, caused him to paint certain rooms and loggias in the Belvedere, where, among other things at the Pope's request, he painted a loggia entirely with landscapes, depicting Rome, Milan, Geneva, Florence, Venice, and Naples in the manner of the Flemings, which, being a thing never before seen, was much admired; and in the same place he painted a Madonna in fresco, at the entrance of the principal door."§

The paintings thus specified, *i.e.*, the views of the chief cities of Italy and the Madonna above the door, have disappeared, while, on the other hand, though they are very much repainted, certain of the compartments and portions of the lunettes still exist.

It was, no doubt, the fine sample of his powers Pintoricchio had given in the Sistine Chapel that determined the Pope to order landscapes and views, for in the execution of these our artist had shown himself superior to all his contemporaries.

But let us examine the Sala delle Statue. On the west its length was increased by the space of six lunettes by Pius VI. in 1781. The older part stretching eastward, was formerly an open loggia facing north, with a view of the grandiose and undulating landscape as far as the spurs of Monte Mario. On the opposite side where the arches opened over the old pilasters behind the statues of Clio (No. 400), of Septimius Severus (No. 392), and of Neptune (No. 394), traces of elegant candelabra have come to light in

\* *Op. cit.* p. 249.

† *Vite*, iii. p. 401.

‡ Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito di Artisti* (Florence, 1840), iii. p. 561. Agostino Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome, 1750), p. 402. G. B. Chattard, *Nuova Descrizione del Vaticano* (Rome, 1767), iii. p. 143. Vasari, iii. p. 400. E. Muntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes Innocent VIII., Alexandre VI., Pie III.* (Paris, 1898) pp. 74, 84.

§ *Vite*, iii. p. 498. Taja, *op. cit.* p. 385. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.* iii. p. 260.



recent experiments, and a great deal more would appear if the modern plaster and whitewash were removed. These candelabra are in *grisaille*, like those in the Sistine and Ara Coeli Chapels.

The vaulted ceiling, which Clement XIV. caused to be re-painted, retains the original design, of fillets with gold ovoloes and "herring-bone" on a blue ground, springing from the ribs of the lunettes, and enclosing arabesques, incidents painted in the form of cameos and medallions, cartels side by side with roundels setting forth mythological subjects, such as *Icarus and Dædalus*, the *Rape of Europa*, *Leda*, *Ganymede*, &c., all absolutely Pintoricchiesque in character, as are also the rayed suns with the coats of arms in the centre. But of all this we can only study the general scheme of decoration and the episodes treated, so complete is the re-painting of the whole.

In the seven lunettes of the old part that has survived, there are as many couples of joyous *putti*. They have not escaped their share of coarse restoration, but they still retain enough of their original character to proclaim the hand of the master. Some play gracefully on musical instruments, others kneel on either side of a peacock, with outspread tail, surmounted by a banderole with the legend: *Leauté passe tout*; others again support the coat of arms of Innocent VIII.

The trophies of musical instruments suspended between two of these little couples, as we gather both from their execution and an engraving of the end of the eighteenth century, in which they do not appear, were added in the time of Clement XIV. or Pius VI., when all the backgrounds were re-painted with rosettes in feigned relief, and the lunettes were added over the north windows. On the opposite wall there are blank rectangles, beneath the whitewash of which may, perhaps, lie hidden the lost views of cities.

The two rooms which follow were, under Clement XIV., connected with the Sala delle Statue by means of arches and columns. The vaults, which rest upon arches and pendentives, show decorative motives characteristic of Pintoricchio. The first, now a complete wreck, has in the coffered compartments, in *grisaille*, four little figures playing musical instruments, the peacock, the motto, and, in the centre, the coat of arms above mentioned. In four lunettes (the work of disciples), the motive of the draped angels holding up the escutcheon recurs, and in four others are half-length figures of sages or prophets, much damaged and repainted, with fluttering ribbons, in which the motto has been covered over.

In the second room the decorative scheme is of the same nature, though less masterly and coherent. The coat of arms of Innocent VIII. appears again in the centre, and in the fillings of the arches are pairs of figures, joined together either at the breast or the back, with vases, or roundels, on the bistre ground of which last are episodes in gold, as in the Colonna Palace. In the lunettes are figures symbolising Geography, Geometry, and other sciences, and here the angels bearing the papal escutcheon appear again, but coarsely executed by disciples.

Adjoining these there is yet another little room, corresponding with the axis of the external terrace. The ribbed vault shows the coat of arms of Pope Cybo; the decorations are re-painted. Two lunettes apparently retain their original designs, though they are daubed over with modern colour. The larger of the two, with figures of choristers, bears a certain relation to the art of Mantegna; the other repeats once more the

Pintoricchiesque motive of pairs of baby-boys upholding the coat of arms of Innocent. Pintoricchio's long and arduous labours in the Belvedere may be said, as far as the execution is concerned, to have perished almost completely. All that remains is a wreck, ravaged not only by time but by the restorer. It is still very interesting, however, to study the general conception of this work, in which the master first showed his powers as a decorator.



*Antenna, photo.*

ARMS OF INNOCENT VIII  
PUTTI IN THE BELVEDERE, VATICAN

Vasari states further that Pintoricchio "did certain things for Sciarra-Colonna in the Palazzo di Sant' Apostolo," and in the Life of Perugino, that the latter painted, in the same palace and for the same patron, a "loggia and other rooms."\* This has led to the inference that the two masters co-operated in the same work. Certain critics have accordingly thought it possible to recognise the two hands in the small portion of the original decoration that remains in a room on the ground floor of the Palazzo Colonna in the Piazza Sant' Apostoli. The annotators of Vasari and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle declared unhesitatingly that this had disappeared altogether.† Nibby neither looked for nor noticed it among the eighteenth-century decorations surrounding it.‡ Schmarsow traced it out and called attention to it once more,§ and Venturi published the discovery through the medium of some excellent photographs by Anderson.||

Personally I think that the supposed collaboration of Perugino and Pintoricchio here, as in the decorations of the Belvedere and of the Penitenzieri, is more manifestly supported by historical coincidence than by artistic evidences, for among the best of these things it would be difficult to point out any that could be pronounced too good for Pintoricchio, while, on the other hand, we certainly could not ascribe the worst of them to Perugino. There are several rooms on the magnificent ground-floor, which now display the pompous decorations of artists such as Poussin, Tempesta, Pomerancio, Allegrini, and the Cavaliere d'Arpino; and Perugino (as indeed Vasari's words seem to indicate) may have ennobled with his brush certain of these, quite distinct from those confided to Pintoricchio, who was far from being such a man, either in capacity or temperament, that the great Perugino would have accepted a subordinate position under

\* Vol. iii. pp. 498 and 579. Vasari says Sciarra-Colonna in mistake for Colonna. The palace, however, owed its origin to Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II.

† *History of Painting in Italy*, vol. iii. p. 260.

‡ Antonio Nibby, *Rome in 1838*, part ii., *Modern* (Rome, 1841), p. 717.

§ *Op. cit.* pp. 26, 27.

|| *Tesori d'Arte inediti di Roma* (Rome, 1896), plates xv.-xxvi.

him after having acted to some extent as his protector in the Sistine Chapel, where he himself had executed one of his most admirable works, the *Christ giving the Keys to Peter*.\*

It is likewise very difficult, in the absence of trustworthy documents, to establish, by a pure process of reasoning, the exact chronology of the works executed by our painter during the pontificate of Innocent VIII., and to say, for instance, which are earlier, the decorations of the Belvedere or those of the Palazzo Colonna. In both, as also in those of the Collegio dei Penitenzieri, we find kindred elements of decoration, not as yet marked by that fulness of development achieved by the master later, during the papacy of Alexander VI.† It is therefore evident that they were among his earlier works; but it would be dangerous to be more precise, for it may very well have happened that, as several rooms were decorated in each of the three palaces, the work may have proceeded fitfully, or alternately, or that in some parts it may have been completed simultaneously, with the help of assistants.

The great hall of the Colonna Palace, in which some features of Pintoricchio's work for Giuliano delle Rovere have been preserved, is now encumbered with heavy book-cases containing the archives of the mansion, and with chairs and tables; but in the embrasures of the windows, as in the Penitenzieri and the Borgia Rooms, the old marble benches are still intact, while, in the middle of the hall is a fountain with a Roman base, and Renaissance basin and pedestal. Both benches and fountain are in the same pleasing harmony with the master's style as the group of the Graces in the Cathedral Library at Siena. The hall itself is gay with southern sunshine, and with the verdure of the garden outside the windows, and the gilded frescoes make a far more resplendent effect here than in the dark, claustral compartments of the Penitenzieri, or among the cold and systematic surroundings of the Sala delle Statue in the Vatican.

In the central rectangle, in the fillings of the arches on the shorter walls, and in all the lunettes, Pintoricchio's paintings have been replaced by laboured and pompous decorations with the Colonna coat of arms, and restless battle-pieces. All therefore that remains of his work are the pendentives and fillings of the long walls, by which the whole vault is divided into compartments, like that of the first room in the Penitenzieri.‡

The ornaments are indistinctly painted in *grisaille* on blue or gold grounds. But four figures of boys in the pendentives of the shorter walls are heightened with gold, and painted on a green ground, while the roundels with episodes have the russet tint of copper, or rather of Florentine bronze; these also are heightened with gold. Two different designs figure in the ancient fillings. In the centre of one is a fountain with a gilded basin on which are monkeys holding up tridents, trophies of arms and musical instruments, and baby-boys embracing the dolphins that form the water-jets. Beneath, on either side, is seated an old man, his elbow on a sphinx, holding in one hand a cornucopia, and in the other a cluster of corn-ears, towards which are hastening two

\* Perugia was probably in Florence in 1487, the date Pintoricchio repeatedly inscribed in the vault of the Belvedere.

† Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, vol. ii. p. 183; Schmarsow, *op. cit.* p. 21.

‡ Pintoricchio's existent paintings in the vault of the Colonna Palace have been re-touched and restored here and there, but not completely re-painted, as some have asserted, either without seeing them or after a careless examination of them.



peacocks, the tails of which sweep down into the angle of the section, filling it in a very decorative manner. The second design has an elegant candelabrum in the centre, supported on winged sphinxes, with an elaborate interlacement of cords against a gold ground above, and two baby-boys holding on to clusters of fruit, each with one foot extended on a tendril to which a little satyr hangs by his girdle. On either side a youth advances, partly draped in a diaphanous tunic, and leading by the beard a goat,



*Anderson, photo.*

FRESCOES OF THE VAULT  
COLONNA PALACE, ROME

bestriden by a boy and pursued by a serpent, the sinuous tail of which fills up the angle.

The motives of the pendentives are likewise dual: one is repeated in the four on the longer walls, another in those of the shorter walls. In the former, a cartouche with handles and a gold ground rises from a base in the form of a vase, and above it a siren, her arms extended, lays hold of the lances in a trophy of Roman arms, upheld by satyrs on either side of her. Above these again is a dodecagon with a broad frame of ovoloes, leaves, fillets and small gilded balls, to which the master gave relief and brilliance by the vigour of his chiaroscuro and by the introduction of a green fillet with delicate yellow arabesques. On either side of the upper part of the dodecagon is a polygon, in which slender sprays of white foliage, contrasting daintily with the prevailing blue and gold, surround medallions painted with legendary episodes. In the upper

angles the spaces are filled by sirens with curving tails, carrying cornucopias and bearing baskets of fruit upon their heads.

The motives of the other two pendentives are less complex. Below, a square, containing the painted episode, and above, two rectangles, the medallions of which are also enframed in graceful foliage. In the five angles formed by this division of the space, the master has introduced a kind of harpy with the cartouche, two youths with sceptres and cartouches, and two white sirens on a gold ground, like those of the other four pendentives.

In the squares and dodecagons are various episodes painted in *grisaille* against a tessellated ground, or a ground simulating golden mosaic, on which figures and objects cast reddish shadows that obviate uniformity and crudeness, and give a pleasing relief. *Judith* (restored in the cracks and at the bottom) carries the head of Holofernes in one hand, and brandishes the sword in the other. In the distance, the decapitated body is seen on a couch in the tent. The gentle face of the heroine is in strong contrast to the fury of her deed. She advances, "modest in all her glory," as the poet says, her airy draperies stirred by the wind.

Equally elegant and almost identical in attitude is the youthful David, his left hand on his hip, from which the sling is hanging, his right brandishing the great sword. The beautiful nude figure and handsome face, enframed in luxuriant hair, are in sharp contrast to the ugly, repulsive and ill-drawn giant on the ground, whose bloody wound Pintoricchio, departing from his general scheme of monotone, has painted red. A band of soldiers with helmets, shields, lances and fluttering mantles, advance by the side of a chariot drawn by two youths, on which the triumphant David is seated, his eyes fixed on the luminous clouds. These figures are very swiftly touched in with rapid strokes and high lights.

The young and delicate Virginia is stabbed by her father in the presence of the decemvir, Appius Claudius, and some soldiers. Mutius Scævola holds his hand in the flame, to the amazement of Porsenna; this episode is somewhat cold and stiff in treatment, less admirable than those described above. A vigorous man, whose mantle flutters in the breeze, pins a calf to the ground with his knee, and slashes its throat, from which the blood (here again red) flows freely. This figure is derived from the familiar bas-relief of antiquity, depicting the sacrifice of Mithra,\* but is adapted to another episode, for, in front, an armed youth drinks the blood, representing Themistocles, who, retiring to Salamina, killed himself by drinking bull's blood. In the background is an altar with fire burning upon it.

Still more beautiful, elegant, and delicate, treated with all the ardour of the miniaturist, with all the vigour of the carver of cameos, and modelled with all the care of the medallist, are the little minor episodes in the discs, which are of a warm tone verging on bistre, resembling the so-called Florentine bronze, with touches of gold skilfully applied to heighten the relief. We have not been able to recognise the subject of every one of these, but every one demands attention.

Ahasuerus, seated on a stool, touches with his golden sceptre the head of Esther, followed by her attendant handmaids; a work of ideal delicacy. Samson lays hold of the pillars of the Temple and drags them down; the Philistines grouped behind him placidly converse or play musical instruments. One solitary figure runs forward hastily from the left to prevent the act.

\* See F. Cumont's important work, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1899).



The next medallion demands a more detailed description. The glory of David having greatly increased after the fight with Goliath, Saul, burning with hatred and envy, sought to kill him. Jonathan saved him and persuaded him to hide near the stone Ezel, saying that he would advise him of the state of Saul's mind by means of a sport with a hidden meaning. He would come out as if to practise shooting at a mark, and David was to act according to the sign given: "I will shoot three arrows on the side of the stone, as though I shot at a mark. And behold, I will send a lad, saying: 'Go, find out the arrows.' If I expressly say unto the lad, 'Behold, the arrows are on this side of thee, take them,' then come thou, for there is peace to thee and no hurt; but if I say unto the young man, 'Behold, the arrows are beyond thee,' go thy way, for the Lord hath sent thee away." Jonathan accordingly warned David to flee, but the latter, in spite of the adverse signal, could not refrain from issuing from his hiding place to embrace Jonathan. This was the passage that inspired the medallion, in which Jonathan shoots, the servant runs towards the stone Ezel, and David comes forth from his hiding-place.\*



*Anferson, photo.*

DAVID AND GOLIATH  
FRISO OF THE VAULT, COLONNA PALACE

Absalom hangs from the oak-tree, entangled by his long hair; his mule walks away from under him, and Joab comes up to kill him.† S. George slaying the dragon is an episode in which a good deal of the original remains, but which has been retouched. The Spartan mother gives the shield to her son, saying: "Return with this or upon it." These two exquisite figures might have been modelled by Ghiberti. A young man lies among flames that crackle furiously about him, while a woman, her hair and her clothes fluttering in the wind, runs towards the pyre. Does this represent an ancient Suttée? or perhaps Hecuba?

Clelia swims across the Tiber by night. On one side Porsenna's camp with the tents and soldiers, on the other Rome. The river rises in wild waves, sprinkled with gold; Clelia emerges from them like a siren, her breast bare, her hands outstretched to grasp the bank on the side towards the city. Curtius, in his right hand the standard with the letters S. P. Q. R., springs into the gulf that opened in the Forum, where, among other buildings, the outlines of the Colosseum appear. Horatius, on the wooden bridge, bending over the whirling waters of the Tiber, defends himself against a band of Etruscans, sheltering himself behind a richly ornamented shield, while behind him men hew down the bridge in hot haste with axes. A man is about to cleave in two a

\* 1 Samuel, xx.

† 2 Samuel, xviii. 9-15.



young naked woman lying on the ground before him, but two cavaliers suddenly arrive, one of whom thrusts a lance into his breast. Near a rock by Marathon overhanging the billows of the sea, Cynægirus, the brother of Æschylus, already struck down and mutilated in his little skiff, hangs on by his teeth to a galley from which a Persian warrior leans out to strike at him.

\* \* \*

Giorgio Vasari, and more recently Steinmann and others, have included the *Madonna* above the altar in the Chapel of the Holy Spear in S. Peter's among the works executed by Pintoricchio for Innocent VIII. during his pontificate; but we shall see that it was painted very much later. We shall also have to speak of the lunette above the tomb of Giovanni Basso della Rovere in S. Maria del Popolo further on.

Not these comparatively brief tasks, but another extensive decoration occupied him shortly after his labours in the Belvedere, namely, the painting of the ceilings in the palace, still existing in the Piazza Scossacavalli, which Domenico della Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente, built for himself in Rome between 1470 and 1490. Domenico Gnoli writes thus of it: "The façade was to have been frescoed in little squares, a decoration traces of which are still to be seen under the whitewash, on the sides opposite S. Peter's and the Church of the Holy Ghost. For a time the palace was isolated on all sides; but the side towards the west of Sant' Angelo is now enclosed in a large courtyard, surrounded by little houses. Entering this courtyard opposite the palace of Santo Spirito, we still see four large carved windows with Guelph crosses, larger than those in the palace at Venice. In this palace Pietro Perugino, Pintoricchio and, later, Francesco Salviati were lodged." Continuing, he quotes Vasari, who records that "Pintoricchio, having worked in Rome in the time of Pope Sixtus, with Pietro Perugino, entered the service of Domenico della Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente; the said Cardinal having built himself a very fine palace in the Borgo Vecchio, desired the said Pintoricchio to paint it throughout, and to place the coat of arms of Pope Sixtus, upheld by two *putti*, on the façade."\*

The annotators of Vasari make this brief comment on the statement: "Of these works in the Cardinal's palace all that survive, perhaps, are the much damaged vestiges of the coats of arms on the exterior." This "is not to be wondered at, for in Rome the cult of classic antiquity on the one hand, and on the other the art of the seventeenth century, have caused the art and the remembrance of the Renaissance to fall into a curious state of neglect." But the paintings still survive, and did not escape the notice of Schmarsow.

From Cardinal della Rovere the palace passed to Francesco Alidosi of Imola, Cardinal of Pavia. Of his tenure evidences still remain in the chapel, the barrel vault of which is covered with small painted panels, in which the oak-tree alternates with the eagle bearing a golden lily on its breast, the device of the Alidosi. Later on, it passed to Cardinal Salviati; and the decorations of the vaults in the wing where the refectory and kitchen are now situated are, perhaps, due to the painter

\* Vol. iii. p. 497.

Francesco Salviati, who took the name of the Cardinal his patron. The palace has preserved its original structure throughout; the courtyard is enclosed on three sides by a portico on octagonal pillars, now filled in; the well, decorated with the coat of arms of Cardinal della Rovere, was reproduced by Le Tarouilly.\*

The little garden is on a higher level; it is divided into compartments by walls, and has lateral doors. A second, smaller courtyard is entirely covered with architectonic designs frescoed in black and white, which may also be ascribed to Pintoricchio.† In the embrasures of the windows the marble seats on their graceful balusters are still in their places; those of the chapel are remarkable for the superior finish of their workmanship. Pintoricchio's patron, having finished his palace and adorned it with all that the art of his time could offer, wishing further to bestow upon it some motto of good omen, inscribed the following legend upon it: "May this house stand until the ant shall have drunk the waters of the sea, and the tortoise shall have journeyed round the world."‡

The house still stands, but how greatly it has fallen from its former splendour! A part of it is now the Collegio dei Penitenzieri, the priests whose office it is to confess penitents in S. Peter's; another part is the Scuola Regina Margherita; and the rooms Pintoricchio decorated are awkwardly subdivided. Of the first, with its vault on arches and pendentives, one portion is in the Penitenzieri, another in the school above mentioned.

An attempt to restore the whitewashed lunettes resulted in the discovery, in three of these, of half-length figures of Apostles, surrounded by fluttering ribbons, as in the Belvedere, and showing the true Pintoricchiesque features. The fillings of the arches and the pendentives, almost entirely re-painted, are decorated with ornaments and medallions in which coats of arms and the heads of emperors are introduced alternately. The central rectangle is sub-divided, with simple borders of ovoloes, "herring-bone" and leaves in chiaroscuro, into squares and coffer, decorated with gold rosettes on a blue ground.§

The wooden ceiling of the second room with its hexagonal coffering rests on a frieze with gilded reliefs of foliage, fantastic animals, baby-boys, &c. In each coffer (enclosed by fillets with gilded ornaments and bosses in relief) there is an ornamental figure, or a group of figures, on a tessellated gold background of feigned mosaic, and in the hexagons of the angles and in that of the centre, the Della Rovere coat of arms with a pheasant below. Then there is a multi-coloured array of tritons, sirens, sea-horses, minotaurs, harpies, griffins, dragons, satyrs bearing fruit, children on dolphins or marine monsters, combats of centaurs, and scenes of maternal affection: harpies and sirens suckling their young. It is, as a whole, a ceiling of wonderful richness and vivacity, teeming with strange representations, which, compared with preceding works, shows the gradual development of the master's decorative fancy, and the facility with which he

\* *Edifices de Rome moderne* (Paris, 1868), p. 536, plate 250 of vol. iii.

† *Graffiti e Chiaroscuri esistenti nell' esterno delle Case*, engraved on copper, and published by Enrico Maccari (Rome).

‡ Domenico Gnoli, *Nuovo Accesso alla Piazza di S. Pietro in Roma*, in the *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, vol. ii. (Rome, 1889), pp. 148-152. In his article Gnoli reproduces two fragments, from drawings, of Pintoricchio's decorations in the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri. Cf. Burckhardt, *Cicerone* (Paris, 1892), vol. ii. p. 184.

§ In the corresponding part of eight lunettes now belonging to the Scuola Regina Margherita, the vault is in much worse condition than in the Penitenzieri. All the rosettes are missing, and no attempt has been made to remove the whitewash from the lunettes and bring the figures beneath to light. On the other hand, the pendentives have been poorly imitated on the partition walls subsequently made.

received and assimilated novel elements from the works of his contemporaries, and in a still greater degree, from antique art.

Here and there we note re-touches and re-painting, and also the work of an assistant, whose manner seemed to Schmarsow to show Mantegnesque affinities.\* On the corbel of an adjoining ceiling, the ornament of which has entirely disappeared, is the date "1490."

\* \* \*

With these works in the Palazzo Colonna and the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, Pintoricchio's decorative style was formed and consolidated as regards its general aspects, remaining faithful, however, to ornaments in *grisaille*, more or less sculpturesque in character. A greater development and a livelier wealth of ornament, and especially of grotesques, was gradually to be attained in consequence of the discoveries that were made fortuitously, or as a result of deliberate excavations and researches in the prevailing passion for bringing to light every possible remnant of classic art.† The Roman decorations of the Thermæ of Titus, discovered at the beginning of Alexander VI.'s pontificate,‡ were to give a new direction to men's minds, and "grotesques" were soon to cast their branches, their foliage, their limbs, wings and tentacles, multi-coloured and varied, over the walls and ceilings of the most important buildings. The painters of the day were to drag themselves on all fours in caves and tunnellings "full of bats and frogs, breaking their backs and their knees," as one of Leonardo's pupils writes,§ to toil laboriously at models, drawings, and notes in order to apply the new art, to come from far and travel far back again to carry the new decorative methods to their native places. Giovanni da Feltre earned the nickname of the "Dead Man," from his mania for working underground; the decorations themselves took a generic title from the *grottoes* in which they were discovered. The following passage in Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography is of great importance: "In Italy we have various modes of treating foliage; the Lombards make a very beautiful foliation by drawing the leaves of ivy and bryony with very exquisite interlacements, the which they do in a manner most pleasing to the eye; the Tuscans and the Romans make a better choice, for they imitate the acanthus, or bear's foot, with its stalks and flowers in various ways, and among the foliage one may distribute very happily little birds and divers animals in such a manner as to show the good taste of the artist. One may also look to Nature for hints, and turn to account the form of such wild flowers as the snapdragon and some other flowers, which must be accompanied by other graceful inventions of excellent craftsmen; the which things are called by the ignorant 'grotesques.' These 'grotesques' acquired their name among the moderns, because they were found in certain subterranean caverns in Rome by studious persons, the said caverns having been in ancient times bath-

\* *Op. cit.* p. 32.

† *Des Eintritt der Grottesken in die Decoration der italienischen Renaissance*, in the *Jahrbuch der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, ii. (Berlin, 1881), pp. 131-144.

‡ Antonio de Romanis, *Le antiche Camere esquiline, dette comunemente Terme di Tito* (Rome, 1822).

§ *Antiquarie prospettive romane composte per Prospettivo melanese dipictore negli Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, series ii. vol. iii. p. 53.



rooms, studies, halls and such like. These studious persons found them in these cavernous places, because they were built by the ancients on the ground-floor, and had remained below while the level of the ground had gradually been raised, or because the popular expression for these basements in Rome is grottoes; and so the name 'grotesques' was given to them. But this is not their right name; for the ancients, delighting to compose creatures compounded of goats, cows and horses, called such creatures monsters; and the modern craftsmen made monsters of this sort among their foliage; and the true name is 'monsters,' and not 'grotesques.' " \*

Now as far as existing documents, artistic and historic, show, it appears that the first painter who made use of these "grotesques," or, as Cellini would have us call them, "monsters," was Pintoricchio, in the Borgia Rooms, and it would further seem that the oldest document in which the term "grotesques" occurs is that in which he was commissioned to decorate the Piccolomini Library at Siena in 1502.†



Anderson, photo.

WOODEN CEILING

PALAZZO DEI PENITENTIARI, ROME

We may take it, therefore, that

it was from the antique world thus brought to light, and revealed to souls athirst for beauty, that Pintoricchio gleaned (and used to excess) the elements that were at once the most brilliant and the most easily applied, *i.e.*, the so-called "grotesques," rather than that he accepted from contemporaries those novel manifestations of decorative art developed shortly beforehand, mainly on the initiative of Melozzo da Forlì and Mantegna.

He continued to decorate vaults, following out their structure and superficies as in former times, amplifying and exaggerating the importance of the stuccoes and gildings, features that others before him had begun to over-emphasise,‡ introducing historical, mythological and Biblical episodes; but never once did he attempt those

\* Benvenuto Cellini, *La Vita scritta da lui medesimo* (Florence, 1890), pp. 76, 77.

† Milanesi, *Commentary on the Life of Pintoricchio*, in Vasari, vol. iii. p. 519.

‡ Without going beyond Umbria, it will be sufficient to note certain panels by Gentile da Fabriano, and above all, the Trinci Chapel at Foligno, where Ottaviano Nelli decorated the ribs of the vault with gilded reliefs. In Upper Italy there are monuments of still greater decorative pomp due to Lombard artists, such, for instance, as the *Camera d'Oro* in the Castle of Torchiara (1448-1460), the Chapel of Queen Theodolinda in the Cathedral of Monza (1444), &c. See Corrado Ricci, *Santi ed Artisti* (Bologna, 1894), pp. 234-42; and Luca Beltrami and Carlo Fumagalli, *La Capella della Regina Teodolinda in Monza e le sue Pitture murali* (Milan, 1891), &c. Among the Emilians of a little later date, the fantastic Amico Aspertini may be cited as an artist who loved to ornament his own pictures with stucco and gilding.

magnificent effects of perspective demonstrated, both in architecture and figures, by Melozzo at Rome (in the Church of the Santi Apostoli), at Loreto, at Urbino, and at Forli,\* and by Mantegna at Padua, Mantua, Rome, &c.† We are by no means of opinion, however, that Pintoricchio's art should be considered retrograde on this account.‡ It was, on the contrary, but the development of a most elegant style which perfectly justified its existence side by side with perspective decoration, a style which our painter, more than any other, amplified and enriched with novel elements.

\* Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forli*, Stuttgart, 1886.

† Vasari, iii. p. 399, and the *Commentary* of Pietro Estense Selvatico, pp. 448 *et seq.* See also Henry Thode, *Mantegna* (Leipzig, 1897).

‡ Arthur Weese, *Baldassare Peruzzi's Antheil an dem malerischen Schmucke der Villa Farnesina* (Leipzig, 1894), chapter i. See also the review of this work by Cornelio de Fabriczy in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte*, vol. vii. (Rome, 1894), p. 228.

## CHAPTER V

### MADONNA PICTURES AND PORTRAITS—SANTA MARIA DEL POPOLO—THE CATHEDRAL OF ORVIETO

BERNARDINO OF PERUGIA—THE S. CATHERINE OF THE LONDON NATIONAL GALLERY—THE  
MADONNA DELLA PACE—THE MADONNA OF CITTÀ DI CASTELLO -PORTRAITS—THE MADONNA  
OF THE BORGAS—THE MADONNA OF THE COUNTS SPALLETTI—THE MADONNA DEL  
TERREMOTO—SANTA MARIA DEL POPOLO—THE CHAPELS OF THE NATIVITY, OF THE CYBO  
FAMILY, OF THE MADONNA DELL' ORTO, AND OF S. CATHERINE—FRESCOES IN THE  
CATHEDRAL OF ORVIETO

DURING the years of Innocent VIII.'s pontificate Pintoricchio was, no doubt, well employed, but not so fully as in the last years of Sixtus IV.'s papacy (when he was working on the rapidly executed frescoes of the Sistine Chapel), or the first of that of Alexander VI., during which he devoted himself more especially to the paintings in the Cathedral of Orvieto, and the important decorations of the Borgia Rooms. We have seen how eager Sixtus was to inaugurate his chapel, and how diligently his painters worked; we shall further see shortly how Pintoricchio was harassed by the conflicting claims of Alexander and of the Orvietans, each clamouring for the completion of works he had pledged himself to carry out.

It was, therefore, in the time of Innocent, rather than in that of his predecessor or successor, that he would have found opportunities for carrying out some of his minor works, and certain of his easel pictures which do not, as yet, belong to that "second Umbrian group" (1497-1502), the finest and most characteristic example of which is the *Madonna dei Fossi* now in the Perugia Gallery.

We must, however, enter an uncompromising protest against the identification of our painter with the Bernardino de Senis mentioned in a document of December 14, 1484, quoted by Muntz.\* Cases may, of course, be cited in which an individual took his surname from a city other than his own, as for instance, Pietro Vannucci, who was called Perugino, although he was born at Castel della Pieve; but when this happened, the person had always long been an inhabitant of the place from which his name was derived. If, indeed, the words "de Senis" had been found in conjunction with the name

\* *Le Arti in Roma sotto il Ponteficato d'Innocenzo VIII.*, in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte*, ii. (Rome, 1889), p. 479. *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes: Innocent VIII.*, &c., p. 59.



Bernardino in some document of later date than 1510, when the master had been living and working at Siena for several years, the hypothesis would have had a certain probability, but it is out of the question to connect him with an act of 1484, when in all probability he had never set foot in Siena. That the allusion here is to a totally different person seems evident to us from a Sienese document of April 23 of the same year, in which mention is again made of a certain "Bernardino di Pietro, painter, of Siena."\*

Giuseppe Ranaldi made a similar mistake, in which he was followed by the Marchese Amico Ricci, when he identified Pintoricchio with that Bernardino di Mariotto of Perugia, who came to Sanseverino in the Marches in 1509, took up his abode with a certain Giovanni Gentile, set up a school for painters, and remained until after 1514.† But Pintoricchio was dead at this date, whereas the other Bernardino da Perugia continued to work for various churches, and was one of the persons on whom a tax was imposed in 1519, and again in 1521. Vermiglioli pointed out the error, and convinced Ranaldi thereof; but the latter did not succeed in correcting the mistake in the work of Amico Ricci, who had relied too implicitly on his statement.‡

Turning to Pintoricchio, we find no indication that he was at any considerable distance from Rome throughout these years; it is, therefore, probable that he painted the San Severino picture at Rome.

\* \* \*

A picture in the London National Gallery shows a young prelate kneeling with clasped hands before S. Catherine, who turns her head towards him, and looks at him with much sweetness of expression. The manner in which the kneeling figure is treated, and the somewhat ungraceful fashion in which he is confined to the right-hand part of the picture, make him akin to the donors of the Valencian picture and the Sanseverino Madonna, for which last, indeed, he would seem to be a preparation. These three pictures, in fact, show such affinities of composition and sentiment, that we are disposed to group them together. S. Catherine stands in front of a drapery, on either side of which is seen one of Pintoricchio's customary landscapes, full of grace and refinement; on the right, a declivity with trees and bushes, on the left a valley watered by a river, with a city in the distance, behind an ancient cypress and a slender acacia. A variety of birds fly against the sky, which clears towards the horizon. The saint has all her attributes and symbols; on her head the crown, from which her hair falls in a shower upon her shoulders, in her hands the sword, the book, and on her left the wheel of her martyrdom.§

\* Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese* (Siena, 1854) ii. p. 406.

† *Memorie storiche delle Arti e degli Artisti nella Marca di Ancona* (Macerata, 1834) ii. p. 85. Severino Servanzi Collio, *Descrizione di un Dipinto in tavola di Bernardino da Perugia diverso dal Pintoricchio, che si vede nel Palazzo Municipale di Sanseverino*, in the *Album di Roma* (year xxi. 1854) no. 45.

‡ Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* pp. 74-77 and 223-236; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. pp. 299-301. Basilio Magni, in his *Storia dell'Arte italiana* (Rome, 1901), ii. p. 537, still confuses this painter with Pintoricchio. Orsini, in his *Guida di Perugia*, ascribes to Pintoricchio a *Crucifixion* with the Blessed Egidius embracing the standard, the Virgin, and S. John, formerly in the Church of S. Francesco at Perugia, and now in the Louvre, and states that it was painted in 1513, the year of Pintoricchio's death. The ascription is no doubt due to this same confusion of the master with the other Bernardino of Perugia. Vermiglioli, pp. 184, 185; Vasari, iii. p. 503 (foot-note); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. p. 301, &c.

§ *National Gallery Catalogue*, p. 412. The picture was bequeathed to the Gallery by Lieut.-General Sir W. Moore in 1862. Height, 1 ft. 9 in., width, 1 ft. 3 in.

The so-called easel pictures described above all seem to have been leading up to the *Madonna* of the Cathedral of Sanseverino, Pintoricchio's masterpiece among the works of this class. All those forms of the human figure and of landscape he had so lovingly studied, all those refinements of technique (design and colour) he had slowly accumulated in his daily experience are brought together here, fused and synthesised in a glorious unity, and bathed in a twilight glow unusual with him, in which everything appears alabastrine, ethereal, almost supernatural. If Pintoricchio had continued to paint like this: if the vast quantity of decorative work he undertook had not subsequently made him careless and sometimes even coarse in his technique; if, again, the troubles his wife brought upon him had not disturbed his mind—if, in short, his art, having attained this lofty height, had succeeded, if not in rising even higher, at least in maintaining its level of excellence, no Umbrian painter, and few among the Italians of his time, would have deserved warmer praise for grace, refinement and beauty.

The *Madonna della Pace*, young, gentle, and lovely, in a rose-coloured under-dress and a dark blue mantle that leave her full throat bare, supports with both hands her Infant Son, who stands upright upon her knees. His little bare feet on a rich cushion. He is dressed like a prince; His white shirt or tunic is embroidered with gold, His mantle shimmers with a golden radiance. His blooming face with its fair curls is inclined towards the kneeling donor, whom He blesses with His uplifted right hand, while with His left He holds a symbolic world, in the form of a transparent globe of crystal. An angel, also very beautiful, and wearing garments rich with gold and embroidery, appears on either side of the Virgin; one, his hands clasped, looks serenely before him with great dark eyes; the other, more humble, his head inclined, his eyes cast down, has his hands crossed upon his breast; his iridescent wings are carefully rendered, feather by feather.

The half-length figure of the donor, Liberato Bartelli, is confined to the lower right-hand corner of the picture. His arm, in a dark blue sleeve, emerges from a red tunic. His hands are folded in prayer; his head, in sharp profile, is slightly raised; the flesh of the face is rendered in opaque tones, all its more personal



S. CATHERINE  
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

and characteristic accidents minutely noted; the fine eyes give great animation to the expression.

The beauty of all the figures is equalled by that of the landscape which appears between the aureoles, shrouded in a twilight penumbra, in which the greenish and bluish tones diffused over the buildings predominate. Beneath the pierced rocks on the left we see the procession of the Magi with small figures on foot and on horseback; in the centre is a valley, or rather a rich plain between mountain slopes; on the right a town upon a mountain spur, crowned by a fortress, the whole seen through graceful trees, and set beneath a sky in which a few diaphanous clouds are floating. In the lunette the Eternal Father gives the benediction from an iridescent demi-mandorla studded with cherubim.\*

This gem of painting was formerly ascribed to Mantegna; but this grotesque attribution had not long prevailed, when the leaders of criticism struck out the right road,† and to them is due the credit of having elucidated the history of the picture, and of having recognised in the donor the portrait of Liberato Bartelli, Prothonotary Apostolic and Canon of Santa Maria in Trastevere, who had it executed by Pintoricchio in Rome, and sent it as a gift to the Chapter of the great Church of Sanseverino, his native place. We find notices of him from 1477, in which year he figures as intermediary between the Chapter of San Giovanni in Laterano, and the nuns of Santa Caterina of Sanseverino in the matter of certain property belonging to the sisters of Masaccio.‡

Giovanni Burchard mentions him twice in his *Diario* (describing the conclave of August 1484, when Innocent VIII. was elected), among the intimates of the Cardinal of Milan and among the members of the Conclave.§ Gentili adds that the Abbacies of S. Mariano and of S. Maria di Valfucina were united to the Mensa Capitolare of Sanseverino by Innocent, at the request of Bartelli, "expert in canon law,"|| and a document quoted by Ranaldi shows that this took place before 1490. But the most important notice for us is that of his nomination to be Prior of the Church of Sanseverino in 1489, or perhaps at the end of 1488, till which date Stefano Bruno held the office. Now it is evident that this was the occasion on which he

\* In tempera on panel. Height, 1 m. 40 c.m.; width, 0 m. 70 cm. The Virgin's forehead and mantle and Bartelli's sleeve are slightly rubbed and worm-eaten.

† Vermiglioli (pp. 227, 228) makes a lamentable confusion in connection with this picture. Among those, however, who recognised it as the work of Pintoricchio were: Amico Ricci, Giuseppe Ranaldi, Gaetano Giordani, Vallardi, Filippo Rigioli (who made drawings of a part of the Borgia Rooms), &c. They have been followed by the most recent authorities. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*History of Painting*, iii. p. 273) give a reproduction of the picture, which was also used by Charles L. Eastlake (*Handbook of Painting. The Italian Schools*. London, 1874, vol. i. pp. 276, 277). In E. M. Phillips' *Pintoricchio* (London, 1901), there is a zincotype which reproduces not only the picture, but the lunette above (pp. 142, 143). See also Morelli and Cavalcaselle in *Le Gallerie Nazionali italiane*, ii. p. 331; Aleandri, *Nuova Guida di Sanseverino*, p. 125; Severino Servanzi Collio, *Descrizione della Madonna della Pace nel Duomo di Sanseverino dipinta del Pintoricchio*, in the *Album di Roma* (year xviii. 1851, part 19), reprinted at Macerata in 1872.

‡ Pietro Moretti, *De S. Callisto P.P. et M. ejusque basilica S. M. Trans Tyberim nuncupata. Disquisitiones duae critico-historicae*. In the appendix, *Notitia Cardinalium Titularium* (Rome, 1752), p. 20. For Bartelli see also Luigi Galletti, *Del Príncipe della Santa Sede Apostolica e di altri Ufficiali maggiori del Sacro Palazzo Lateranense* (Rome, 1786), pp. 361 and 363. I am indebted to Signor Vittorio Aleandri of Sanseverino for a MS. by Giuseppe Ranaldi, *Raccolta di Notizie di Don Liberato Bartelli e sul Dipinto da lui donato alla Cattedrale di Sanseverino*.

§ *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum Commentarii: 1483-1506*, vol. i. (Paris, 1883) pp. 28 and 67.

|| *Antichità di Settempeda* (Rome, 1742), p. 70.





"Madonna and Child with Angels and the Donor, Liberato Bartelli,"  
Cathedral of San Severino

pp. 28 and 67.

1.  $\alpha \in \mathbb{R}$  is a real number.







presented the sacred picture containing his own portrait to the Chapter, a picture which seems to have been greatly coveted by Christina of Sweden, though her desire to become possessed of it was never satisfied. Ranaldi collected together various other notices of the picture, dating respectively from 1634, 1653, 1667, and 1708. But the only one of importance seems to have been that of 1825: "I saw it taken down, and at the bottom of the frame I observed a coat-of-arms in leather, fixed on to it, very old and much damaged, but I recognised it clearly as the coat-of-arms of the Bartelli."<sup>\*</sup>

Of the same period and the same kind as the picture described above, is another panel in tempera, once perhaps not unworthy to rank beside it, in the Sacristy of the Cathedral at Città di Castello; it has been greatly injured by an ignorant restorer, who, while leaving it dirty in some parts, has skinned it in others, and then has essayed remedies which have had the most disastrous effects, as for instance, on the shoulder and right arm of the little S. John who bends forward to the Infant Jesus, standing on the lap of His Mother, while she raises His hand in benediction.



VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. JOHN  
CATHEDRAL, CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

It is impossible to estimate how far the original beauty of the work has suffered from these deplorable injuries.

Some gay touches of colour are given by the red of the book the little S. John holds to his breast, the yellow of the Saviour's little shirt, and the green of his sash, but the rest has lost its bloom, like the carnations, or has been heightened to crudity like the Madonna's blue mantle, or blurred like the delicate hilly landscape with slender trees and buildings touched with gold, traversed by a road on which is a hunting-party, consisting of a horseman with a dog and pedestrians.<sup>†</sup> The picture is certainly very delicate in execution; but now, robbed of its modelling and its glazes, it appears hard, meagre and discordant.

\* \* \*

A work comparable to the Sanseverino picture in delicacy is the charming portrait

<sup>\*</sup> MS. cit. pp. 276, 277.

<sup>†</sup> Giacomo Mancini, *Istruzione storico-pittorica per visitare le Chiese ed i Palazzi di Città di Castello*, i. p. 94. G. B. Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* p. 79. Margherini Graziani, *op. cit.* pp. 177, 178.

in the Dresden Gallery of a boy in a red tunic and blue cap, from under which his luxuriant chestnut hair falls in a shower on his shoulders. In the brownish carnations of the face, opalescent tones predominate, with their greenish shadows and roscate and silvery lights. He looks straight before him with a fixed, alert gaze. The landscape behind him is supremely beautiful. On the right are high pierced rocks, on the left a tall, slender tree, and in the centre the shimmering waters of a translucent river, on the leafy bank of which rises a city. Delicate mountains melt away in the distance, under the light, into diaphanous vapour. The atmosphere diffused throughout the picture is slightly cold, but limpid and harmonious, and there are passages of extreme delicacy of execution.\* But in addition to its artistic value, this picture has the unique distinction of being perhaps the sole easel portrait by Pintoricchio that has come down to us.

He, who introduced several in his sacred pictures, and a very large number in his frescoes, seems rarely to have devoted himself to the portraiture of single individuals. A silver-point drawing of another boy, finished with bistre and heightened with white, is in the Print Room at Darmstadt. The manner in which the eyes are fixed and the uplifted head have given rise to the idea that it is a study for a picture by Pintoricchio.† But we feel very doubtful as to the authenticity of this minutely and meagrely executed drawing.

Another male portrait in the Gotha Gallery was ascribed to him, but Wischer and Aldenhoven were fully agreed that the attribution was a false one.‡ Berenson again, does not venture to confirm his authorship of the portrait of a youth in the Taylorian Collection at Oxford,§ which to us seems to be the work of the Umbro-Tuscan artist who helped Pintoricchio in the Borgia Rooms, where he painted the *Epiphany*, and who perhaps executed the *Mystic Marriage of S. Catherine* at San Genesio in the Marches.|| More characteristically Umbrian are certain traits in the miniature portrait of the National Library of Naples, in the *Homer* printed in 1488, but the resolute and incisive modelling makes us hesitate to ascribe it to Pintoricchio.

We have yet to notice a portrait of a lady in Mr. Beattie's collection at Glasgow, but this we shall discuss further on in the description of the Cathedral Library at Siena.

\* \* \*

The picture at Valencia, in tempera on panel, has shared the fate of the name of its author. Forgotten at first, it suddenly found eulogists in Schmarsow,¶ Yriarte,\*\* and Steinmann,†† who all gave reproductions of it, in Madrazo, Frizzoni,‡‡ &c.

\* In tempera on panel; height, 0 m. 50 cm.; width, 0 m. 36. Karl Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1899), p. 39. B. Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), p. 169. Passavant, *Raffaello*, i. p. 350.

† Jos. Schönbrenner and Jos. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen*, no. 552 (Vienna, 1901).

‡ Carl Aldenhoven, *Herzogliches Museum zu Gotha: Katalog der herzoglichen Gemäldegalerie* (Gotha, 1890), no. 492. § *Op. cit.* 169.

|| Communicated by Conte Aristide Gentiloni Silveri, who also sent me a photograph by Signor Tullio Taccari. ¶ Bernardino Pintoricchio in *Roma*, pp. 8, 9.

\*\* *César Borgia* (Paris, J. Rothschild, 1889), vol. i. p. 232.

†† *I Capolavori della Pinacoteca del Prado in Madrid*, in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte*, vol. vi. (Rome, 1893), p. 182. ‡‡ *Op. cit.* pp. 83, 88, 90.



The Madonna, standing in the centre against a background of gilded squares, turns and bends her head towards the Infant Jesus, a little boy of about three years old, dressed in a tunic of brocade with a gold-trimmed mantle, who stands upright on a stool ornamented with the device of the Borgias, and learns to read from a richly illuminated missal. A prelate kneels with clasped hands in the right-hand corner of the picture.\* His mitre, studded with gems and pearls, is laid on the ground beside him.

Critics are not agreed as to the identity of this personage. The majority take him to be Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI., while others suppose him to be Cardinal Francesco Borgia.

For our own part, we may at once exclude Rodrigo Borgia, whose authentic and unalterable portraits on medals † bear no more resemblance to that of the Valencian picture than does the latter to the portrait of the Pope painted by Pintoricchio himself in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican, and so strongly characterised by such features as the large hooked nose, the full cheeks and throat, and the thick lascivious lips.‡ But we also doubt that it represents Francesco Borgia, for, not to mention its dissimilarity with his supposed portrait in the Borgia Rooms, the personage in the Valencian picture has a mitre; and the picture is incontestably of earlier date than the period when Francesco was entitled to wear this as Bishop of Teano or Archbishop of Cosenza (1499), or as Cardinal of Santa Caterina (1500).§

The fact that in the Church of Xativa near Valencia, where it is, there is also a chapel dedicated to the *Virgin of Fevers*, built by Francesco when he was Bishop of Teano, proves nothing, for each one of the Borgias might well have had such works executed independently of the others, for a church of his native district.||

The conjecture, we must repeat, seems still less plausible on an examination of the pictorial character of the work, the somewhat crude technique of which, together with a pretty simplicity amounting almost to *naïveté*, make it evident that it was not painted at the supposed date, still less at a later period. Critics, in fact, see in it the influence of Melozzo, and even that of Gentile da Fabriano, and they agree in pronouncing it anterior to the Sanseverino picture. We therefore believe that the kneeling figure is

\* As the figure of the donor appears in like manner in the extreme corner both in the Sanseverino picture and in the *S. Catherine* of the London National Gallery, it is hardly open to any one to suppose that it was added later on, even though such a supposition be necessary to harmonise his opinions with history!

† *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique: Médailles coulées et ciselées en Italie* (Paris, 1836), plate xxv. nos. 3, 4, 5. *Trésor, &c., Médailles des Papes* (Paris, 1839), plate iii. nos. 6, 7. Armand, in *Les Médailleurs*. vol. ii. (Paris, 1883), on p. 63, mentions a medal in the Archæological Museum at Madrid which has on the reverse the Castle of S. Angelo, and the device: MO. AD. VAL. FO. S. PROF. COR. Q. C.

‡ Rodrigo Borgia went as the Pope's legate to Spain (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*), but this was in 1472, and it is highly improbable that he took this picture with him, seeing that Pintoricchio was at that date an obscure young man, living far from Rome. See also Panvinio, *op. cit.* p. 242.

§ Gaspar Escolano, *Historia de Valencia* (Valencia, 1611), part ii. 1166-67. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. ix. p. 259.

|| The inscription on the Chapel is as follows: *Franciscus de Borja Episcopus Teanensis Alexandri VI. Pont. Max. Thesaurarius Camera Apostolica Presidens hanc capellam suæ domus monumentum Mariæ Virgini de Febris quatorque Ecclesiæ Doctoribus pie erexit dedicavitque.* He did not become Bishop of Teano till 1499, when Pintoricchio was in Umbria. Yriarte says that the picture was probably ordered in 1492 by Cardinal Francesco, who no doubt caused his cousin's portrait to be introduced! Now, in 1492 Francesco was not as yet a Cardinal; and when he became a Cardinal, Rodrigo was already Pope, and would not have been represented with a mitre, but with the papal tiara.

a portrait of Giovanni Borgia, senior, of Valencia, Apostolic Prothonotary under Sixtus IV., and afterwards Archbishop of Monreale in 1483, appointed Governor of Rome by Innocent VIII., Cardinal of Santa Susanna by Alexander VI., and sent as papal Legate to Naples, to solemnly invest Alfonso II. of Aragon as king. In the early years of his episcopate, when he habitually lived in Rome, about 1485, that is to say, he may have had the panel above described painted by Pintoricchio, and have sent it to a Valencian church.

Between the years 1818 and 1820, the painter Don Francesco Llacer was commissioned to paint another Madonna, when the churchwardens of Xativa gave him as a pattern Pintoricchio's picture, already a wreck. He kept it in his studio (where a picture-restorer of the Prado saw it) for some thirty years, during which he repeatedly requested the priests and wardens to fetch it away; but as he received no reply from them, he finally handed it over to the Academy of Valencia.\*

The small Madonna-picture belonging to the Contessa Rasponi Spalletti at Rome, shows pictorial and sentimental affinities with the Borgia panel. Here again a background of golden checkers takes the place of the landscape, and the Babe, no longer an infant, holds a little book, from which He is learning to read. But more striking than these, so to speak, superficial resemblances, and the slight roughness of the tempera, is the likeness of the Babe, with his delicate, attentive little face, in a tunic that covers Him completely, save for His extremities, with dainty folds, relieved by unusual high lights on the dark lake ground and the long, rich ribbon or swaddling band that enfolds Him in broad, loose involutions. The Madonna's head, soft and warm in tone, has a few greenish tints, but of extreme timidity. Her hands are long, cold, and slender.†

\* \* \*

Vasari relates a most pitiful story concerning Andrea Luigi of Assisi, called L'Ingegno. According to him, Andrea "worked with Raphael of Urbino, under the discipline of Perugino, who made him his assistant in all the most important works he undertook, as in the Audience Chamber of the Exchange at Perugia, where there are most beautiful figures by his hand; in the works he executed at Assisi; and finally in Rome, in Pope Sixtus' chapel; in all of which Andrea gave such samples of his powers that it was expected he would greatly transcend his master. And no doubt it would have so happened; but Fortune, who nearly always takes pleasure in opposing herself to the other principles, would not allow L'Ingegno to come to perfection, for being afflicted with a running in the eyes, the wretched man became totally blind therefrom, to the infinite grief of all who knew him. Hearing of which piteous case, Pope Sixtus, who loved all artists, ordered that every year during his life a provision should be made for him at Assisi, the income from which he should dispose of. And thus it was done till his death at the age of eighty-six."‡

\* Schmarsow (*op. cit.* p. 8, note) says that Professor Justi informed him that there was in the sacristy of the church of Xativa a small panel, probably also by Pintoricchio, with the Madonna, Jesus, the little S. John, two angels, and a landscape background in which the hermits Paul and Anthony, and S. Jerome appeared.

† On panel; height, 0 m. 36 cm.; width, 0 m. 24 cm. The Virgin's mantle has become harsh in colour, and shows the ravages of the restorer. The background has also suffered.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 595.

But Vasari's story falls to pieces at a glance; he says that L'Ingegno became blind in the time of Sixtus IV., who died in 1484, and then makes him the fellow-student of Raphael, who was born only a year before, and a collaborator in the decorations of the Exchange at Perugia, which were completed sixteen years later!\*

Baron Rumohr,† Passavant,‡ Crowe and Cavalcaselle,§ and others cleared this matter up. If Andrea of Assisi became blind, the misfortune certainly did not befall him so quickly as the Aretine biographer states, and the name of Ingegno|| was given him not so much for his pronounced artistic merit as for the versatility of his aptitudes. He was procurator in 1505, arbitrator in 1507, auditor to the magistracy three years later, and finally papal chancellor in 1511 under Julius II.

We have no single work by him that can be unhesitatingly accepted as genuine, and that is vouched for by an authentic signature or document. The coats of arms he painted in the Piazza del Comune and on the gates of Assisi have disappeared, nor would works of so humble a character have been of much use to compare with landscapes and figures for critical purposes. However, the writers mentioned above, and more especially Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, have tried to identify some of his pictures.

On the wall of a small room in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the Capitol is a fresco representing the Madonna and Child between two angels. Old-fashioned criticism attributed it to Pintoricchio, and Vermiglioli, accepting this ascription, writes as follows: "In the year 1488, when Bernardino may have been in Rome, a certain Paolo Boncambi of Perugia took his place among the Roman senators. We may therefore surmise that during his tenure of office Bernardino was commissioned by his fellow citizen to adorn the senatorial chapel with this fresco."¶

But the attribution did not find favour with Passavant, and he promptly discerned the manner of L'Ingegno in the fresco. What this manner was we may well ask, since Passavant himself allows that "the coats of arms executed at Assisi no longer exist, nor have we any trustworthy record of any other works by him." In any case, the confidence with which this ascription was made so far shook Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that the custodians of the Capitoline museum took the name of Pintoricchio from the work, and placed that of Andrea d'Assisi, called L'Ingegno, upon it.

Nowadays, naturally, the old attribution has found favour again, and Bernhard Berenson has included among the works of Pintoricchio this graceful Madonna, known as the *Virgin of the Earthquake*, because, as the inscription beneath it says, it remained intact when all around it was in ruins. It is a work of great delicacy, which has many affinities with the two Madonnas at Spello, and shows us the master still faithful to certain forms characteristic of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Dressed as usual, in red, with a blue mantle lined with green, her hands clasped, her delicate face enframed in the two tresses carefully rendered hair by hair in the master's usual manner, she bends her head

\* Annibale Mariotti, *Lettere pittoriche perugine* (Perugia, 1788), pp. 161, 162.

† *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii. pp. 324, 348.

‡ *Raffaello d'Urbino*, vol. i. pp. 345, 348.

§ *History of Painting*, vol. iii. pp. 163-166.

|| The ingenious or gifted one.

¶ *Op. cit.* p. 73. A. Tofanelli, *Descrizione delle Sculture e Pitture che si trovano al Campidoglio* (Rome, 1819), p. 150. Pietro Righetti, *Descrizione del Campidoglio* (Rome, 1836), vol. ii. plate 243. M. Valéry, *Voyages en Italie* (Brussels, 1845), p. 443. Charles L. Eastlake, *Handbook of Painting: The Italian Schools* (London, 1874), vol. i. pp. 275-277.



to gaze at the Babe who lies asleep on her lap, his only covering a white and gold drapery round the loins. The figure of the Virgin is relieved above against a dark drapery brocaded with gold, and below against a plinth with a base, covered with dark green material patterned with green, and sprinkled with small gold flowers, resembling that in Lord Crawford's picture. On either side of her is a graceful figure of an angel with iridescent wings, standing on a cloud, with hands clasped and head inclined, one dressed in white, the other in yellow; spirals of golden ribbon flutter among their draperies.

Was Vermiglioli perhaps right in his conjecture that this picture was a commission given in 1488 by Boncambi of Perugia, a Roman senator at that date?

It is possible, but the pictorial type makes it probable that it was a work painted some years earlier.

\* \* \*

It seems certain that during the months immediately following the inauguration of the Sistine Chapel, Pintoricchio was at work on his beautiful frescoes in the Ara Coeli, and that, after these, the decorations on which he was engaged were those for the Della Rovere family and Innocent VIII., in the Colonna Palace, in the building now called the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, and in the Vatican.

At the very beginning of his pontificate Sixtus IV. projected the reconstruction of the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and confided the task to Meo del Caprina. His nephews and others, who had benefited by his bounty and that of his successors, gradually decorated it, and chose it for their place of sepulture, so that it became a treasure-house of works of art,\* many of which still exist, though they are overwhelmed by the discordant surroundings (fine enough in themselves) introduced with an excess of zeal by Bernini and his school in the seventeenth century at the instance of Alexander VII. and others. Without the *barocco* ornamentation with which it is overloaded, Santa Maria del Popolo would now be one of the most admirable of the Renaissance churches—nay, more, a glorious museum of works of the brush and the chisel. Some of these have perished; others are dispersed or displaced, and are now to be found in the passages, corridors, and magazines, in the sacristy, and even, as we shall see, at a distance of hundreds of kilometers.

Fortunately, one of the portions of the church that has suffered least is the chapel immediately on the left of the entrance, called the Chapel of the Nativity or of S. Jerome, built by order of the learned and upright Domenico della Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente, and decorated by Pintoricchio.

Beneath the fresco that does duty as an altar-piece is an undated and partly obliterated inscription relating to the founder of the chapel.† The walls, like the vault, are painted, the decoration being interrupted at the sides by two sepulchral monuments; on the one side, the very ornate tomb of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere (who died in 1478), his recumbent figure watched over by a Madonna by Mino da Fiesole,‡ who looks

\* Vasari, vol. iii. p. 498. Padre Raffaele Colantuoni, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria del Popolo* (Rome, 1899), pp. 72-107. E. Muntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, pp. 31-35 and 95. Nibby, *op. cit.* modern part, i. pp. 456-472. Ch. von Weber, *L'Eglise Santa Maria del Popolo à Rome in L'Art* (Paris, 1882), Year viii. 392, 394.

† Forcella, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 323.

‡ Dom Gnoli, *Le Opere di Mino da Fiesole in Roma*, in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, iii. (Rome, 1891) p. 431.



"Portrait of a Boy," Dresden Gallery

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down at him in an attitude of consolation and protection; on the other, that of Giovanni de Castro, priest of Santa Prisca and Cardinal of Girgente, who died in 1506, a more ponderous work, so high that it conceals one of the lunettes of the vault. To all this marble efflorescence we must add the balustrade of the chapel, and the altar frontal and super-frontal, in which the oak-tree intertwines its graceful branches loaded with acorns.

Pintoricchio is responsible for the division of the walls by simple pilasters in monochrome, with candelabra and grotesques in various colours on a gold ground upon them, designs repeated in the arches of the two windows, which might lead us to assign the work to a period subsequent to 1493-94. The vault is miserably bedaubed on the ornaments of the ribs (which unite in the central coat of arms), on the blue background, and the stars of gilded *papier mâché* which are stuck on to the surface.

Were the lunettes painted by Pintoricchio? We think not.

The first, above the sepulchre of Cristoforo, which represents S. Jerome preaching and teaching, is entirely re-painted, the landscape in this, as in the others, dating only from the middle of the nineteenth century. Injuries ancient and modern, due to carelessness and ignorance, have befallen the following lunettes: S. Jerome in the desert, which has been ruined by the damp that has filtered through the roof of late years;\* the Saint taking the thorn from the lion's paw, to the amazement of the surrounding monks; the Saint writing, already infirm, seated on his humble pallet; his funeral, the last traces of which are to be seen behind the statue on Giovanni de Castro's monument. But amidst the ruins the figures appear hard, cold, and ill-proportioned, and the wreck reveals a technique differing to some extent from that of the master, to whom perhaps the design was due, while the execution may have been entrusted to some of the many assistants he employed from this time forward.

A work indubitably by the master, however, is the *Nativity*, which is enclosed in a beautiful marble frame with the Della Rovere coat of arms at the bottom. This fresco too has suffered from restorations, some of ancient date, some carried out in the middle of last century, when the same landscape-painter who amused himself by renewing the backgrounds of the lunettes, re-painted the background almost entirely. The stable with its beams and tree-trunks, made among the ruins of an old building over which ivy has climbed, has been re-touched; the river, the bridge, the wood, the temple with its tower, the high tree in the middle, have been completely re-painted at a recent date. But the ox and the ass have escaped the zeal of the latest restorer.

The principal figures are fortunately in better preservation. The Babe, who lies on the ground with His head upon a sheaf of corn, although He shows traces of re-touches, and has had His hands almost entirely re-painted, preserves His original contours and also the excellent modelling of His dainty little body; quivering with eagerness for His mother's breast, He stretches out His arms and legs towards her. Kneeling, she gazes adoringly at the Child; her clasped hands and her sweet bowed head are almost intact, but her blue mantle and red under-dress are much damaged.† Much less pleasing is

\* In Anderson's photograph, taken less than twenty years ago, the rocks on the left, now almost obliterated by damp, appear intact.

† This typically Umbrian figure is a repetition, with slight variations, of that in the *Nativity* in the Borgia Rooms, and agrees exactly with a drawing by Pintoricchio in the Venice Sketch Book. Morelli, vol. ii. pp. 182 and 289. Frizzoni, *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, i. p. 299.



the somewhat clumsy figure of S. Joseph, in light draperies (pale blue and yellow), a personage but feebly characterised, who holds a staff in his right hand and rests his head drowsily on the palm of his left. Kneeling beside him, with bare arms and knotted hands clasped in adoration, a powerful, if not very attractive, S. Jerome bends forward to the Infant Saviour; his lion, which like the other animals, has lost its native pride of bearing under the subduing hand of the restorer, crouches behind him.\* Some portions of the original still remain in the young shepherd with his arms crossed on his breast, and the cavalcade of the Magi descending the pierced cliffs, on the summit of which stands the little figure of a shepherd with his dog and his sheep, gazing in stupefaction at the radiant apparition from heaven, who announces the birth of the Messiah.

This painting has suffered too much to enable us to judge of its merits, especially in the vast landscape which must originally have been its most beautiful and poetical element. The grouping of the figures and the placid humility of the attitudes breathe a charming spirit of intimate devotion; but the delicacy of the execution has been almost destroyed under the outrages of unskilful and destructive brushes; the modelling has become heavy, and the colour has lost its transparency.

\* \* \*

A very accurate account has been given of the adjoining chapel, that of the Cybo family (rebuilt towards the end of the seventeenth century), by Luigi Staffetti, to whom we also owe the discovery at Massa of a fragment of the paintings by Pintoricchio which formerly adorned it.†

Innocent VIII., in the sole creation of Cardinals during his pontificate, on March 9, 1489, raised to the purple among others his relative Lorenzo, Canon of S. Peter's and Archbishop of Benevento, who was subsequently a munificent constructor and restorer of buildings at Rome and elsewhere, and who commissioned Pollajuolo to execute the famous monument to his uncle the Pope in S. Peter's.

He it was, and not Cardinal Innocenzo, as Vasari affirms, perhaps merely by a slip of the pen, who built the second chapel on the right in Santa Maria del Popolo, and also his own monument (now destroyed), in which he was buried in 1503. Vasari does not describe the paintings, merely saying that they contained the portrait of the donor,‡ while Ambrogio Landucci deals in yet vaguer generalities, and says that the chapel "was adorned throughout with figures of the utmost nobility and beauty."§ Padre Colantuoni gleaned but little more: "It is true that over the altar there was a painting, representing the Virgin, S. Lawrence and others."||

The chapel must certainly have been built and decorated after Lorenzo became a Cardinal, and consequently in 1490 or in 1491, after which date Pintoricchio was engaged on works elsewhere. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Alderano

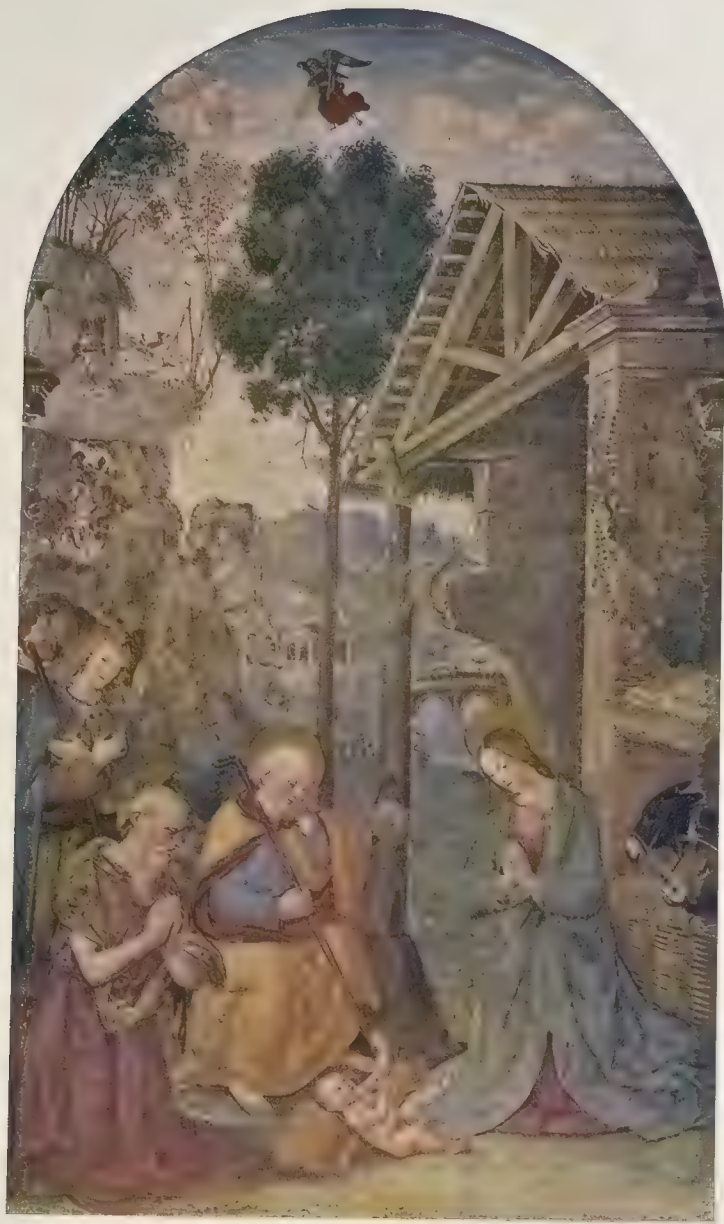
\* Morelli (iii. p. 182) thinks this lion is to be recognised in the sketch of a lion's head in the Venice Sketch Book.

† *Un Affresco di Bernardino Pintoricchio nel Duomo di Massa*, in the *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, parts 11 and 12 (Spezia, 1900).

‡ Vol. iii. p. 498. Vermiglioli, p. 19.

§ *Origine del Tempio dedicato in Roma alla Vergine presso alla Porta Flaminia detta oggi del Popolo* (Rome, 1646), p. 105.

Op. cit. p. 87.



The Nativity, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome





Cybo found the work of the Renaissance too modest for his pompous taste, and destroyed the whole of it, save the enthroned Madonna with the Child, which he was anxious to preserve. He had it cut out of the wall, and enclosed in a stout wooden frame, and sent it to Massa, to his brother, Duke Alberico II., to place in the Church of San Francesco, in the sepulchral chapel of the Cybo family, now the Chapel of the Sacrament.

In the documents published by Staffetti, the Madonna is always erroneously spoken of as by Perugino, a confusion caused by affinities of manner and by the fact that Pintoricchio was a Perugian; but these documents nevertheless resolved the question of its origin.

Alberico II., in his will, dated May 17, 1675, commanded Carlo II. to erect a chapel in fulfilment of the paternal wishes, and Carlo, counting upon the help of his uncle the Cardinal, wrote to him as follows on November 23, 1692: "The Lord Duke, my father . . . among the things he laid upon me to do after his death, charged me to build the chapel in which the mortal remains of members of our house should be laid; and although I am sorely straitened for money, I would by no means desire to live with a burden on my conscience, and I have already begun upon the altar, over which the painting of Our Lady by Perugino, that your Eminence sent to the Lord Duke aforesaid, is to be placed as an altar-piece." He goes on to beg for marble to adorn the altar: "For the ornamentation I desire to add to the altar-piece, the one your Eminence bestowed on my father, taken from your chapel in del Popolo, the work of Perugino, we lack some *verde antique* and a piece of Oriental alabaster for the wall above." (?) On October 3, 1693, he adds: "Yesterday we set up the painting of Our Lady that your Eminence sent to the Lord Duke my father to place in the chapel of our house, the which was removed from the ancient chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, and the operation was successfully carried out, notwithstanding we had feared it might have received some injury because of its being on an old wall, and having threatened [to crack] in transport." The chronicler, Odoardo Rocca, sums up and confirms all this.

The Virgin is enthroned with the Babe, in His little shirt; He sits upon His Mother's lap, holding a book in His left hand, and raising the right in benediction. On either side of the throne, on the cornice above, and on the two lateral corbels or arms are fragments of angels and *putti*, and, lower down, two haloed heads, one of which may be that of S. Lawrence. The vicissitudes of transport and of installation have left severe traces on the work, especially on the draperies of the Virgin and the feet of the Babe.



DRAWING FOR A NATIVITY  
VENICE SKETCH BOOK

On August 17, 1483, two days after Sixtus IV. had solemnly inaugurated the Chapel in the Vatican afterwards known as the Sistine Chapel, his sister's husband, Giovanni Basso, died, over eighty years old. Originally a modest notary of Albisola, he had been raised by the Pope to great wealth and honour, and adopted into the family under the name of Della Rovere. His sons, Francesco Bartolommeo and Girolamo, had him buried in Santa Maria del Popolo, and raised a fine monument to his memory, with very ornate pilasters and friezes, and the figure of the deceased extended on his death-bed. It is asserted that Pintoricchio decorated the lunette above it, but nothing would persuade us to accept as the work of the master the coarse and heavily modelled *Pietà*, with the large and ugly nude figure of the Saviour, the two angels, with their misshapen and ill-drawn hands, and the dismal, meagre landscape.

The actual date of the painting is difficult to determine, for the fact that Giovanni Basso died in 1489 does not prove that the monument was executed immediately after; in fact, taking into account the time it must have taken to carry out the sculpture and set up the tomb in its place, it is evident that this particular date must be excluded from our conjectures. On the other hand, a certain limitation of the possible period is given by the date 1492, in which year Girolamo della Rovere ceased to be Bishop of Recanati (under which title he is indicated in the inscription on his father's tomb)\* and became Bishop of Palestrina.

Not only the lunette in this chapel, but the execution of nearly all the paintings must, we think, be ascribed to hands other than Pintoricchio's, though we may credit him with the general idea of the decoration, perhaps also with some sketches and designs for it, and with the direction of the whole work. In the *Assumption*, the manner of Bernardino Fungai seems to manifest itself here and there, notably in the Madonna, in the extremities, more particularly the fleshy hands, in the minute and commonplace, but extensive landscape, and in the treatment of the iridescent wings of the angels. In the altar-piece, where the master was likely to have contributed the largest share of his own work, the languid type recalls those of Giannicola Manni, who was already painting at the period, as we learn from Mariotti.

As a whole, however, the chapel makes a stupendous impression, in spite of the damage done by damp and restorations, and the paltry character of such modern accessories as the altar frontal, the candelabra, the cross, &c., which contrast so strongly with the graceful original balustrade, and the magnificent remains of the tessellated pavement, with its elongated hexagons, containing either simple foliage or acorns or ornaments, or the helmet and unicorn, or the oak of the Della Rovere family and the coat of arms of the Bassi.†

All the lower part is decorated with feigned reliefs, the sentiment of which, in all that concerns decoration and composition, is certainly that of Bernardino. They represent the condemnation and martyrdom of S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Catherine, &c.; the group of the kneeling saint and an executioner who raises the sword to decapitate him on the base of Giovanni della Rovere's tomb, differs but slightly from a similar group in two drawings in the Uffizi.‡

\* Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, &c., vol. i. p. 324.

† As is natural, it is in better condition under the wooden step of the altar than elsewhere.

‡ Nos. 49 and 116. The figures are reversed. Schmarsow published the first of the two (plate vi.), ascribing it to Pintoricchio.

The means by which the effect is produced is very simple ; the background is of an uniform bistre tone, on which figures and objects are drawn and shaded in a dark tone and illuminated with a light one after the manner of certain drawings of this period. The treatment is easy and spirited, though the emaciated figures are not free from incorrectness and hardness here and there. In the landscape background of the Martyrdom of S. Peter some of the Roman buildings appear—the Obelisk, the Colosseum, &c.



*Anderson, photo*

BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN

SCHOOL OF PINTORICCHIO, SANTA MARIA DEI POPOLI, ROME

Above the bases rise painted columns with yellow capitals, almost entirely re-painted, as are also the candelabra between them. On two of the five walls of the semi-octagonal chapel are windows encircled by wreaths of ivy carved in the marble ; against the central or end wall is fixed the altar-piece of the high altar, and the two on either side of the entrance arch are masked respectively by the monument described above, and the much injured fresco of the *Assumption*. The Virgin, a very tall figure with a small head, her robe and blue mantle brocaded with gold, and falling in hard angular folds, rises heavenwards, standing upright upon the clouds with clasped hands, in an almond-shaped glory of seraph-heads. Four angels, whose draperies have greenish gradations, play musical instruments above, and two are flying beneath, their yellow draperies fluttering gracefully about them. Below, there is the usual motive of the Apostles finding the empty tomb, and behind them, under a pierced crag, S. Thomas holds out his hands to receive the Virgin's girdle, which falls through the air.

As our readers have seen, we should hesitate to deny Pintoricchio's authorship of the



altar-piece, taking into account a certain delicate and luminous quality that marks the opalescent tints, and the fact that the extensive re-painting to which it has been subjected makes it difficult to judge of the original work. The Madonna is seated under a graceful baldaquin; leaning over to her right, she holds the Babe upon her lap with both hands; these latter are terribly damaged. The two heads are in fairly good condition, as are also the two to the left, of S. Augustine and S. Anthony of Padua, which reveal the Umbrian spirit in all its purity. The two opposite figures of S. Francis of Assisi and his disciple, and the landscape, have been re-painted. In the lunette above is a half-length figure of the Eternal Father, facing the spectator in a glory of seraphim, the lower part in very bad condition. In the five lunettes of the vault are painted scenes from the life of the Virgin: her *Birth* somewhat resembles that of the Chapel of San Giovanni in the Cathedral at Siena, and is marked by a certain tender familiarity and solicitude that is very attractive. The *Presentation in the Temple* has been reduced to a wreck by ancient and recent negligence; the *Annunciation* is graceful and novel in the action and the architectonic surroundings, among which five angels approach the reading Virgin from various quarters. The ornaments, lightly drawn in outline, recall some of those of the Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral at Siena. The fourth lunette, with the *Marriage of the Virgin*, is a wreck; it is entirely re-painted in tempera in harsh and glaring colours. The motive is treated with simplicity, in the accepted manner: the High Priest in the centre, joining the hands of Mary and Joseph, with the crowd of suitors surrounding them. A boy on the right, his hand on the hilt of his sword, would seem from his costume to be a portrait. The final scene of the *Visitation* has become, under the hand of the restorer, a clumsy modern composition, from which we can only gather that the figures of the Virgin and S. Joseph were repetitions of those in the *Visitation* of the Borgia Rooms.

The vault was originally decorated with a wealth of figures, animals, and ornaments; in each sector was a disc with the figure of a prophet: Daniel, Jeremiah, David, &c. But the insolent hand of a restorer has gone over the whole and reduced it to a ruin. Either he, or some collaborator worthy of him, has left but little untouched in the vault and the painted candelabra of the adjoining Chapel of S. Catherine, built and endowed in 1489 by Giorgio, a Portuguese Cardinal.\*

All that remains are the half-length figures, covered with retouches, in the lunettes, each holding a book: S. Jerome, with a lion transformed by the restorer into the mildest of beasts; S. Augustine, with a short white beard, the pastoral staff, mitre, and mantle of gold brocade; S. Ambrose, holding up his scourge, and S. Gregory, a beardless figure with the tiara, white gloves and robe, and a blue mantle, fastened across the breast with a great clasp.

Cardinal Giorgio's coat of arms contained a foreshortened wheel, and this, perhaps, led him to choose S. Catherine for his patroness, and to dedicate his chapel to her. It is richer in sculpture than in paintings; over the altar is a marble triptych of the Virgin between two saints; the tomb of the Cardinal of Lisbon, and that of Marc Antonio Albertoni, a Roman knight, who died of the plague in 1485, also adorn it; on the pavement is another figure, marking a subterranean tomb.

\* Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 325, 326. Barbier de Montault, *Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la Sculpture religieuse à Rome*, plate 138.



The Madonna Enthroned, with Saints, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome





Thus the solemn episcopal figures and the effigy of the youthful Albertoni rest, surrounded by the vivid grace of painted and sculptured ornament, of scutcheons, inscriptions, and saintly images, amidst those immortal flowers of art, in which the whole magnificent church abounds. We shall return here later, we rejoice to think, with Pintoricchio, who painted the ceiling of the Presbytery at a subsequent date.

\* \* \*

Pintoricchio left Rome probably in the month of June 1492, when he undertook to paint two Evangelists and two Doctors of the Church in the tribune of the Cathedral of Orvieto, for a payment of one hundred ducats, lodging, and a quantity of corn and wine.

His task, which he began with the figures of the two Evangelists, was partly finished in November of this year. One of the figures still exists, a S. Mark with a white beard and white hair, in a blue robe and red mantle, partly obliterated by damp, in the usual almond-shaped glory studded with seraphim, flanked by two baby angels. The space on the other side of the rose-window where the Evangelist S. Luke and the other Doctor of the Church (S. Ambrose) must have been, is bare to the stones, save for some fragments of plaster.\* Ugolino di Prete Ilario worked extensively in the apse of the great Orvietan basilica between 1370 and 1384, and the paintings on the end wall, behind the altar, and those on the left, representing episodes in the life of the Madonna, are perhaps his. Master Giacomo di Lorenzo, a Bolognese,† was invited in 1491 to carry on the work, which had been suspended for a long time; but as nearly the whole surface of the right wall was to be frescoed, the upper part was confided to Pintoricchio in 1492, and he was commissioned to paint, above an inscription similar to the one opposite, and on either side of the rose-window, two Evangelists, and two Doctors of the Church. It is further recorded that "the rest of the wall beneath the inscription was painted by Antonio da Viterbo, called Il Pastura, in 1499,"‡ but it is probable that it was merely re-painted, as there must have been frescoes there already.

When this part of the work was executed, Pintoricchio did not continue his labours. He addressed a protest to the churchwardens, in which he declared that he would not be to blame if the paintings were never finished, but that it would be the fault of the wardens themselves. But at a meeting held by the latter on November 17, 1492, there were certain who spoke unfavourably of the frescoes that had been painted, and advised that the painter should be dismissed, a matter which was left in suspense. Many writers have repeated that the discontent of the wardens was due to the extravagant use of ultramarine (a very costly pigment) by Pintoricchio, who is further credited with an excessive consumption of wine. But nothing can be found in any of the original sources of information to confirm these tales. It is much more probable that the necessary funds ran short, and that the wardens were therefore obliged to reduce the expenditure, more especially on such materials as ultramarine and gold.

\* Padre della Valle, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto* (Rome, 1791). Luzi, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto* (Florence, 1866). But the two works which have furnished us with the most important documents and observations in this connection are Luigi Fumi's *Duomo d'Orvieto* (Rome, 1891), pp. 365, 400-408, and *Gli Affreschi del Pintoricchio nell'Appartamento Borgia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, by F. Ehrle and H. Stevenson. (Rome, 1897), pp. 45-55. A French edition of this magnificent work, with certain additions, was published in 1899.

† For Giacomo di Bologna, see also *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese*, collected by Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 427.

‡ Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 48. Cf. also *L'Arte*, vol. iv. (Rome, 1901), p. 75.

Be this as it may, the painter was not paid. He accordingly appealed to the Apostolic Chamber, which gave orders to the Lieutenant to use threats to the wardens, to oblige them to pay their debts. They held another meeting on December 9 of the same year, to consult as to how they could find the money, proposing either to raise a loan of 25 ducats, or to sell some land belonging to the Cathedral. Whichever they did, it is known that Pintoricchio was paid shortly afterwards.

When this occurred, however, he was no longer at Orvieto. He had finished half of the work he had undertaken, that is to say, the Evangelists, but not the Doctors, which, as we shall see, he only bound himself to execute some years later. Instead of completing his task at Orvieto, he set to work upon the Borgia Rooms, as is shown by Alexander VI.'s letter to the Orvietans on March 29, 1493,\* in which he begs them to let him keep the painter for a few days (*per aliquot dies*), to finish some work in his palace, after which he could return and paint in the Cathedral. Some persons believe that the Pope kept his word, and that Pintoricchio was at Orvieto again shortly after this. It is pointed out, with regard to this proposition, that fifteen florins were paid him between April 7 and April 11 as *pars sue provisionis*, and that on the 25th there is a note as to the wine for the masons who put up scaffoldings for him. But the payment was made through the medium of a third person, which proves that the painter was absent. Besides, no indication can be discovered of how he was employed in April 1493, whereas, if he had been painting at that time, his expenses would certainly appear in the account-books. In any case, even if he was working at Orvieto, he was not engaged on the figures of the Doctors, for it was not until March 15, 1496, that he signed the agreement to paint them: *Promisit facere duas figuras Doctorum in capella magna altaris majoris* for fifty ducats, six quarters of corn, the necessary wine and temporary lodging, with household plenishings, blue, and gold. On November 3 of this year a final payment was at last made to him, with a certain reduction, because he had not done all himself, but had had a certain Master Vincenzo as his assistant. One of the two Doctors is the S. Gregory which still exists, though kept together by wires. The saint is seated near a table loaded with books. He wears a white mitre and robe, and a blue mantle with a gold border, treated with all the accuracy characteristic of the master. On one side of the painting is a kind of cupboard in which are a cup, two books, and a cross. The candelabra on the pilasters painted at the sides are in *grisaille* on a blue ground, and on the frieze there are a number of seraph-heads. The figure of the other Doctor, S. Ambrose, has disappeared.

Other paintings in the famous Cathedral show certain Pintoricchiesque features, and have accordingly been ascribed, at least in part, to him. But it must be indeed an untrained eye that could confound the coarse forms of Pastura with the delicate and refined ones of the master. It is not only at Orvieto that such a confusion has arisen. A heavy and clumsy work of Pastura's at Umbertide, and a rather better one in the Museum of Viterbo have both usurped the name of the graceful Perugian master.

The following frescoes in the apse of the Cathedral of Orvieto are by Pastura: the *Annunciation*, the *Visitation*, the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, and perhaps the perished *Flight into Egypt*, the subject of which is indicated by fragments such as

\* Milanese (Vasari, iii. p. 501, note) quotes this letter, giving the incorrect date of March 9, 1494, by which he also misled Schmarsow.

the staff and a part of the mantle of S. Joseph, and one of the ass's legs, a more certain clue!

I am inclined to insist upon the fact that Pastura found the remains of earlier paintings, perhaps by Ugolino di Prete Ilario, on the surfaces he was called upon to decorate, that he turned them to account and followed their outlines, perhaps to save himself trouble, and perhaps also for the sake of keeping his work in harmony with the surrounding decorations. In the *Visitation* the city in the background is re-painted, and on the right we may perceive that a window with an iron grating has been placed over a group of cypresses. In the *Annunciation* the figures of the Angel and of the Virgin are inserted in a kind of temple with a multi-coloured vault which is undoubtedly a remnant of the earlier frescoes. She is seated before a lectern, her hands clasped, her head bowed in prayer. But the face is very coarse, with a thick nose relieved by a heavy shadow, as in the Madonna of the lunette in Santa Maria della Pietà, or of the Observants, at Umbertide. The hands are as heavy as fencing-gloves, with knotted joints and strongly marked nails, just like the hands of the angels in the similar painting at Umbertide. The other frescoes should also be compared with this painting and with the *Nativity* at Umbertide. In the *Visitation* more especially the affinities are numerous and manifest.\* In the *Presentation*, Pastura has placed in the background the tricuspidal façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto, with indications of gilded bosses on the cusps, a decorative element characteristic of Pintoricchio, from whom he also took certain types, such as the S. Joseph and the S. Joachim of the preceding fresco. But the treatment of the folds in the draperies is more commonplace and abrupt, corresponding exactly with that of the picture at Viterbo.†

Of the other works at Orvieto ascribed to Pintoricchio we have already spoken in dealing with the Ara Cœli frescoes, when we assigned them to Matteo Balducci. Very little therefore remains, or indeed ever existed there by the master's hand, and this explains why Vasari, who was in general so well informed about his works, is silent concerning those he executed at Orvieto. Nor need you seek them here, pilgrims who ascend to the lovely, historic city absorbed in adoration of its magnificent cathedral, stand before it, resplendent in its yellowing marbles and mosaics, like a gigantic chess-board of gold and ivory, and enter it to see the mighty works of Luca Signorelli!

\* The above had already been written when E. Steinmann's book appeared, proving that the *Nativity* at Viterbo was the work of Pastura. *Antonio da Viterbo* (Munich, 1901).

† Steinmann seems uncertain about the Orvieto paintings. He mentions further two *pulvi* at the sides of a garland containing the device of the Wardens of Santa Maria, or of the Cathedral, and says that they appear to have been painted by Pintoricchio himself. They are extremely mediocre, and may be by Pastura, or by Master Vincenzo.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE BORGIA ROOMS IN THE VATICAN

ALEXANDER VI.—HISTORY OF THE ROOMS—OLD AND NEW RESTORATIONS—THE SALA DEI  
MISTERI—THE SALA DEI SANTI—THE SALA DELLE ARTI LIBERALI—THE SALA DEL CREDO—  
THE SALA DELLE SIBILLI

**R**ODRIGO BORGIA, nephew on the mother's side of Calixtus III., became Cardinal in 1456, at the age of 25; he rapidly amassed wealth and honours in his office as Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church and through the death of his brother Pier Luigi, whose heir he was. His uncle's death left his position unshaken, although his dissolute way of living brought upon him the severe rebuke of Pius II.: "When, four days since, you were found in the garden of Giovanni de Bichis in the company of certain women of Siena, given up to the vanities of this world, we have learnt that, little mindful of the dignity of the office that you hold, you remained in their company from the 7th to the 22nd hour. You had with you one of your colleagues who, if he did not remember the honour of the Holy See, ought certainly, by reason of his years, to have remembered his duty. There, as we have heard, was lascivious dancing, nor was one of the allurements of love omitted, and your behaviour was no otherwise than had you been in the ranks of worldly young men. That which there took place, shame forbids the telling; since not the deed only, but its very name, is unworthy of your position. The husbands, parents, brothers, and relations of the young women and young girls there assembled were not allowed entrance, that your pleasures might be the more unbridled. . . . It is reported that in Siena there is no talk save of your frivolous dealings, which have become the byword of all. Our displeasure is unspeakable, seeing that this tends to the dishonour of the estate and office of religion. . . . Through your misdoing we are censured, and wrong is done to the happy memory of your uncle Calixtus, who, in the judgment of many, erred in laying such honours upon you."

And the letter of Pius II. continues with many similar reproaches, to which we may well believe Rodrigo replied by a mere shrug of the shoulders. However this may have been, the report of his dissolute living did not prevent him from leaving the conclave summoned on the death of Innocent VIII. as Pope Alexander VI. The sad notoriety of this personage, of his sons, and of all his family, dispenses us from speaking of them



"Madonna and Child." Fresco in the Sala dei Santi, Borgia Rooms  
in the Vatican

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here, except very briefly. Innumerable learned and popular books have told, with more or less truth and weight, the story of the pitiful spectacle which took place at one of the most famous of epochs in the greatest theatre of the world, in Rome that is to say, at the time of the Renaissance.\*



*André Peraté, photo.*

SALA DEI MISTERI  
BORGIA ROOMS, VATICAN.

The decorations made by Pintoricchio and his assistants in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican, neglected for centuries, seen by few and described by fewer, have suddenly become the best-known of this master's works, since, on March 8, 1897, Leo XIII. solemnly threw open these rooms, now cleaned and restored, to the public. Endless articles were written about them all over the world, besides such superb publications as that of Ehrle and Stevenson, or panegyrics such as that of Boyer d'Agen, which, however, is rather concerned with the Pope's art as a restorer than with Pintoricchio's as a painter.†

\* Besides the usual histories, consult Ferdinando Gregorovius, *Storia della Città di Roma nel Medio-evo*, vii. and viii. (Venice, 1875-1876), and *Lucrezia Borgia* (Florence, 1874); Edoardo Alvisi, *Cesare Borgia* (Imola, 1878); Charles Yriarte, *César Borgia* (Paris, 1889), and *Autour des Borgia* (Paris, 1891); P. D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (Imola, 1893).

† Ehrle and Stevenson, *Gli Affreschi del Pintoricchio nell'Appartamento Borgia*; Boyer d'Agen, *Le Peintre des Borgia: Pintoricchio* (Paris, 1898); André Peraté, *Les Papes et les Arts*, pp. 520-525; E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour*



We saw these rooms before there was any idea of restoring them, crowded with bookshelves, reduced to the humble position of a library, the paintings veiled by the dust of ages; we have seen them again, after the new official consecration, free from encumbrance, the floors re-made, and newly tessellated by Tesorone, with the help of remaining fragments,\* the walls and ceilings repaired, invaded by an admiring crowd, a good half of which, only the day before, had never heard the name of Pintoricchio! The dates on the paintings, the *Diario* of Burchard, and the requests of Alexander VI. to the people of Orvieto, prove that he set himself, from the first moment of his election as Pope, to the adornment of his rooms, and that he urged on the work with eagerness.

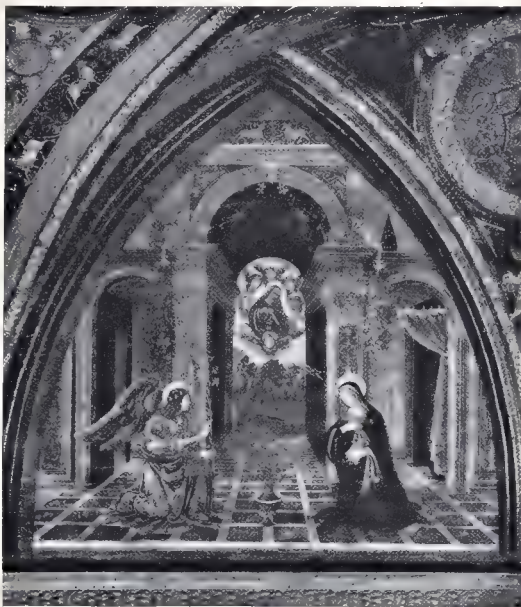
Naturally he availed himself of the rooms already existing, in that part of the palace built about the courtyard of the Pappagallo, which was the residence of the Popes from Nicholas V. to Sixtus V. The three rooms, following the largest one known as the Room of the Popes, were built about the middle of the fifteenth century, and are called by Burchard "private rooms." In the first of these, in 1488, the marriage contract between Gherardo Usodimare and Teodorina Cybo was drawn up, and in 1492, that of Don Luis of Aragon with Battistina Cybo. Only the last two are contained in the tower erected from its foundations by order of Alexander VI., at the very beginning of his pontificate, perhaps for the defence of the palace, at that time open on the side of the vineyard. In describing the paintings in the Duomo of Orvieto, we have seen that in November 1492, Pintoricchio had returned to Rome, where he remained till March 1496. We may, therefore, assume that it was in the latter part of 1492 that he began the decorations of the Borgia Rooms. When were they finished? This may be gathered, in the opinion of Ehrle and Stevenson, from the grant of two pieces of land near Chiusi, assigned to him by the Pope, probably in payment, or part payment, of his work. Under date December 1, 1495, Raffaele della Rovere, Cardinal Chamberlain, assigns to him the two properties, one large (Poggio Sacco by name) and the other small (known as la Macchia di Cugliano and la Banditella) on a lease of twenty-nine years, in return for an annual levy of thirty measures of corn, a considerable tax, equivalent to eighty florins. "The deed seems to relate to a simple matter of business; and, as there is no mention in it of favour or merits, except the usual formula of '*sincero affeto di devozione e fedelta*,' this lease could not have been taken for a remuneration of services, the payment of a debt, if other documents did not prove that, as a matter of fact, this was the means by which the painter was paid."†

*des Papes*, pp. 177, 189, 191; Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres Complètes*, i. p. 264 *et seq.*; ii. pp. 264-283. Other notices of the opening of the Borgia Rooms have been given by A. Venturi, *Nuova Antologia* (April 1897), and *Tesori d'Arti inediti di Roma*, plates xxvii-xxxiv; Ugo Fleres, *Vita Italiana* (Rome, April 1897); Andreas Aubert (*Kunst-bladet* of Copenhagen (April 1898); Cornelio de Fabriczy, *Archivio storico italiano* (1899), p. 394 *et seq.*; Giuliano Dorpelli, *Rassegna Settimanale Universale*, ii. p. 232; Francesco Malaguzzi, *Natura ed Arte* (Milano), anno. ix. no. 22, &c. See also *L'Illustration* of April and May 1897. It is needless to say that all historians of art and all biographers of Pintoricchio speak of them, also Taja, *Descrizione del Vaticano*, pp. 83-95. The discourse read by Prof. Ludovico Seitz on March 8, 1897, on the inaugural occasion, reprinted from the *Osservatore Romano* of that day, is now in the press. Cardinal della Volpe and Prof. Seitz have been of great assistance to us in the study of the Borgia Rooms, as was also, in every way, Prof. Giovanni Piancastelli, Director of the Borghese Gallery.

\* G. Tesorone, *A proposito dei Pavimenti majolicati del sec. XV. e XVII delle Chiese napoletani in Napoli Nobilissima*, 1901, x. pp. 116 and 117. Tesorone speaks also of the pavements of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, of the Library of the Duomo of Siena, &c.

† Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 50.

A second letter of Raffaele della Rovere, dated July 28, 1497, announces a *motu proprio* of the Pope, which the Cardinal puts into execution, by which Alexander VI. acknowledges that the conditions of the lease granted to Pintoricchio are heavy, the more so as the painter had laid the Holy See under great obligations by his beautiful paintings in the Vatican and in the Castle of S. Angelo; and acknowledges further that he deserves a worthy reward, which, on account of the condition of the Treasury, cannot be given in ready money. Therefore he is released from the annual levy of thirty measures of corn, and he is required only to contribute to the Apostolic Chamber of Perugia two pounds of wax at the Feast of the Madonna in August. Other concessions are made with a rescript of October 24, and he is given to understand that he is to consider the Chamber not a little in his debt for the paintings in the Palace and the Castle, "*industria et maxime sumptu factis.*"



Anderson, photo.

"THE ANNUNCIATION"

S. ILI PET. MISTERT, BORGO A. R. 3005

A third letter from the Cardinal Chamberlain, dated February 5, 1498, summarises the above, and shows that the levy of thirty measures of corn had been remitted from three to twenty-nine years, that is, for the whole tenure of the lease. But what is most interesting is the statement that the grant had been made partly on account of many other works which he had completed in the Vatican and in the Castle. "*Multa alia ex suo artificio in dicta arce et in palatio.*" Those in the Castle we shall consider later; but those in the Palace were perhaps the paintings spoken of by Vasari "in certain rooms overlooking the courtyard of S. Peter's," which were destroyed during the restorations of Pius IV.\* However this may have been, difficulties were not lacking in the exercise of the master's privileges, as we see in a long letter from the Pope dated May 16.

It is quite certain that, besides the advantages accruing to Pintoricchio from the lease of the property at Chiusi, he must, during his work, have been provided with board and lodging, with the wages of his assistants, and with the cost of his materials, especially the gold and the blue.

\* Vol. iii. p. 498.

Messrs. Ehrle and Stevenson consider that the work in the Borgia Rooms must have been finished by 1494, and that the work for the Castle was then begun. That these vast decorations should have been completed in three years is indeed astonishing; but we must remember that the Pope was keenly anxious to get the rooms finished; that the painter was helped by many assistants, that he was at once worker and director; that the largest room, that "of the Popes," did not form part of the "private rooms," and was kept for public audience; and that, finally, it was not decorated by Pintoricchio, but, many years later, by Giovanni da Udine and Pierino del Vaga, after Leo X. had replaced the wooden ceiling, which fell in, by the vaulted roof.

In the sixteenth century the Popes seem to have preferred to live on the second floor, where there was more light and air; and accordingly the Borgia Rooms were given up to the nephews and the chief secretary. That at least was the case in the time of Pius IV. (1559-1565) and of Clement VIII. (1592-1605). After Sixtus V. had finished the new palace, these apartments were abandoned, and thus, in the opinion of Ehrle and Stevenson, came about the decay of the two suites of rooms decorated by Pintoricchio and by Raphael. But we believe that the damage, at all events in the Borgia Rooms, began before then, in the numberless slashes with nail or knife which are to be seen on the walls, among which are various names and dates inscribed as early as 1522, 1529, &c. We may, therefore, conclude that after having been left to servants and soldiers and members of the conclave, they were restored to more noble uses by Pius IV.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, divided into numerous cells, they served as bedrooms for the Cardinals during the conclaves, and afterwards for the meals of the minor officials of the palace during Holy Week.

Taja intimates that it was at this time that the degradation of the Borgia Rooms reached its lowest depth: "It was certainly to the disadvantage of the public good and of the fine arts, that the neglect of that age and the carelessness of our fathers had by this time let the numerous old paintings fall into a lamentable condition."\* This state of things not only continued for a long time, but became even worse during the French invasion. In 1816, Pius VII. resolved to put the pictures sent back from France after the Treaty of Vienna into the Borgia Rooms, which he "restored" after the manner of his time.† The marble Guelf crosses and the iron bars were removed from the windows, in order to give more light. Nevertheless, there was so little that, five years later, the pictures had to be again removed. Some sculpture replaced them; but for this again the light would not serve. Finally, Pius IX. put Cardinal Angelo Mai's library into the rooms.

It is to Leo XIII. that we owe their true restoration. In 1891 they were by his orders cleared of papers, books, and book-shelves. The walls were found to be greatly damaged by old scratches, by the fastening up of pictures in 1816, by the insertion of brackets supporting busts and statuettes in 1821, by the fixing of the book-cases put in by Pius IX., by the opening of new doors and the closing up of old ones.

The restoration was both pictorial and architectural, the former under the direction of Count Francesco Vespignani, the latter under that of Comm. Ludovico Seitz,

\* *Op. cit.* p. 88.

† G. A. Guattani, *I più celebri Quadri delle diverse Scuole italiane riuniti nell'Appartamento Borgia nel Vaticano disegnati ed incisi a contorni* (Rome, 1820). See Introduction. Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* pp. 209, 229.





Fragment from the « Annunciation » in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican



director of the Papal Galleries. The repairs were reduced to the simplest necessities, and specially directed to the injuries of the walls, the plaster, and the stuccoes. Former restorations were allowed to stand. "In some parts of the roof of Rooms 5 and 6, which had given way, the painting has been detached, the wall re-made, and the plaster restored to its place with such precision that not a trace of the operation remains on the fresco, save an almost imperceptible white line following the outer limits of the daring restoration, which at once disappears at a light touch of the brush." So Ehrle and Stevenson, who continue: "The exclusion of any re-touching leaves the work exactly as it was handed down to us, without any of those additions that would alter its authentic character. The rigorous application of this method, which follows all the most reasonable principles of historico-artistic criticism, has led to the retention even of the retouches made in other ages . . . the greater part of which were apparently made in the time of Pius VII., when the rooms were adapted to the new uses of which we have already spoken. Others, however, are much earlier in date, and probably go back to the period when the rooms were occupied by the nephews, especially under Pius IV. and Gregory XIII. Such retouches cover the worst damages in the original frescoes; to take them away would be to lay bare and indeed increase these damages, disturbing the general effect more than those who made the restorations themselves. These, in fact, have their place in the artistic records of the frescoes, of the rooms, and of their vicissitudes. It is, therefore, better to leave them than to take them away and do them over again, especially as not only would such an undertaking be long and delicate, but a re-touch that can be seen at a glance is preferable, for the student of art, to one more skilfully done, which must always remain a modern work, unable to fully replace the original work, and apt to produce the effect of a falsified document. The only re-touching of this kind that it has been thought legitimate to make is in the magnificent portrait of Alexander VI. in the Room of the Mysteries. This is very trifling. There was a scratch on the Pope's chin, which changed the whole effect and character of the portrait, and it has been hidden by a light touch of the brush."\*



*Anderson, photo*

"THE NATIVITY"  
SALA DEI MISTERI, BORGIA ROOMS

\* *Op. cit.* pp. 41, 42.



We have reproduced the exact words of Ehrle and Stevenson, because they are acquainted with the principles on which the recent restorations were done, and not from a conviction of their entire and indisputable truth. It may be well that prudence has counselled the leaving alone of certain ugly old retouches, but we cannot admit that they deserve "a place in the artistic record of the frescoes," seeing that they belong merely to the record of human ignorance. And we are also loth to admit that a bad retouch which is seen at first sight is better than a good, careful, prudent retouch, strictly limited to the damaged part. But it is on the strength of such opinions that the two historians have come to look upon the old damages as less serious than they really are, as we shall see. Indeed they write: "The essential parts of the work of the Umbrian painter, that is to say, the ceiling and the lunettes, had either suffered no damage in the restorations and alterations of 1816, or they had suffered very slightly."\* And a few lines lower down: "The damages that were trifling in the upper frieze, were, on the other hand, considerable on the walls, especially in the lower part." And this is how they refer to their present state and to the latest work carried out in them: "We have related how the side walls had been covered all over with whitewash. It was first intended to carefully remove this stratum. We know that some years ago an attempt of the kind was made, which showed that the walls still retained at least a part of the decorations of the time of Alexander VI. We now know that the walls were enriched with ornaments at the time when the ceilings were painted. The walls, however, have not been found to be in the same state throughout. In the rooms from the first to the fourth, the old plaster with its paintings still existed, though defaced in many portions by the hanging of pictures at the time when the rooms were turned into a picture-gallery, or by the fixing of the marbles when they were turned into a museum, or by the fastening of the bookshelves when they were turned into a library, and other damages. In the third room there were only slight traces of the decorations, just enough to enable the main portions of the design and colouring to be distinguished. In the fifth and sixth there were no vestiges of the kind, with the exception of the slightest possible trace on the north window of the fifth. In each of these cases that method of restoration has been applied which seemed to adapt itself best to the various circumstances. To leave those walls on which no traces of the original paintings remained bare would evidently have been monstrous. To re-lay the plaster and paint it over again would have made it impossible in the future to ascertain the state in which the walls were discovered. The simple and reasonable decision was come to, that the walls of the fifth and sixth rooms should be covered with canvases painted by skilful painters with ornaments in harmony with the ceilings, with the few remnants of painting remaining on the window and with the floor; thus securing the double advantage of leaving the old walls untouched, and of obtaining a mural decoration which could be removed and changed at will. In the first room, where the remaining fragments were not in a condition to be completed, nor to be left in sight as they were found, without disturbing the whole effect, there are in like manner canvases and tapestries fastened to the wall. In the third room the remaining parts of the old decoration sufficed for the restoration of the principal parts of the design and colouring, while the

\* *Op. cit.* p. 28.

secondary parts must have been left entirely to the restorer. The lower part was therefore covered with panels of intarsia work, almost contemporary with Pintoricchio, and made for the rooms on the floor immediately below the Borgia Rooms. The upper part has been covered with canvases on which what was left of the original decorations is imitated and completed as well as this could possibly be done. In the second and fourth rooms, known as those of the Mysteries and of the Liberal Arts, where the ornaments of the walls were in moderately good condition, and afforded sufficient scope for the completion of the missing portions, the restoration has been done in such a way that the most casual of observers can distinguish between the original and the restored parts. The latter have been carried out on the general lines of the design, but drawn much more lightly, or in neutral tints, and the principal parts that have been peeled off, or been scratched, have been concealed in the same manner. In this way the absolute authenticity of the old portions has been maintained, and the general effect of the decorations has remained unaltered."



*Adoration, fresco*

"THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI"  
SALA DEI MYSTERI, BORGIA ROOMS

\* \* \*

Messrs. Ehrle and Stevenson have called the first of the rooms painted by Pintoricchio the Room of the Mysteries (*Sala dei Misteri*), and we will follow them in this and the other titles. It is divided in the midst by an arch that separates it into two rectangular spaces, forming on each side two large lunettes, which Pintoricchio has imitated on the wall opposite to the window, painting in the pendentive between the two an angel in green and yellow, holding in his outspread arms a gilt garland with the coats of arms of Borgia and Doms, impaled: dexter, an ox passant; sinister, azure, three bars or.\* In the large lunette over the window he has not repeated the design opposite, but has filled it with a single composition. (See illustration on p. 94.)

\* Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 63. The husband of Isabella, the Pope's mother, was called Joffre de Borja y Doms, being the son of Rodrigo Gil de Borja and of Sibilla de Doms (Yriarte, *Cesar Borgia*, i. pp. 21-25).





to the making of which so much care had gone. No work, however wonderful and sublime, could tame the rudeness and ferocity of a people from whose brains art flowered lovely and spontaneous as the blossom of a rose. It was but little later that Julius II., who had engaged Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael in vast works, set on the mob to the destruction of the Palazzo Bentivoglio, the most elegant private building in Italy; and the Bentivogli, rivals of the House of Este in the protection of artists and in splendour, broke in pieces the statue of the Pope modelled by Buonarroti! But it may be that the very ease with which the idea and the thing rose in their minds, and under their hands, took from them all remorse and hesitation in the work of destruction. They were too rich to feel the need of economising as we, who are so poor, must needs do with every remnant of beauty that the ages have left us.

Thus on these pilasters, not a decade after the death of Pintoricchio, the furrows began already to appear. Under certain scrawls may be read the dates 1522, 1529, 1541, &c. One Giulio of Parma, one Gian Paolo of Milan, one Bandino, one Bonatto, first scratched with nails upon those walls on which the members of the conclave in the eighteenth century still continued to carve their names, while servants and soldiers cut jesting scrawls on the marble seats under the windows.

The large arch which, as we have said, divides the vault into two quadripartite spaces, is completely covered with decorations, in stucco and papier-maché, ornate polygons containing squares, in which the heraldic ox, gilded in relief, alternates with two crowns on a green field.

The same ox and crowns (another device of the Borgias) recur in the triangles of the quadripartite vault, the ribs of which converge to a disc, with the same device quartered with another, of gold waves on a blue field. In the middle of each triangle is a disc in which are half-length figures of Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Joel, Micah, Malachi, Solomon, Isaiah, and David, in great part damaged, peeling off the surface, and distorted by re-touching; not, however, that these injuries prevent us from recognising the work of assistants, who, according to Schmarsow, were a Sienese painter for the



*Anderson, photo.*

"THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY GHOST"

SALA DEI MISTERI, BORGIA ROOM.

first four, and an Umbrian influenced by Fiorenzo for the other four. Certainly they are not the works of the master, and, in some, such as the Joel and the Micah, the hand that worked on the *Ascension*, and gave such strange tearful eyes to his figures, may be distinguished.

*The Annunciation.* Beside a kind of triumphal arch, with two side spaces adorned with gold reliefs and festoons of flowers, the Madonna kneels with her right hand on her breast and a golden book in her left. The Holy Ghost flies towards her, and from above the Redeemer looks down on her out of a halo of seraphim. Meanwhile a kneeling angel, garlanded with white and red roses, holding a lily in his left hand, his right hand raised, with iridescent wings, a yellow robe with green sleeves, and a red mantle, "announces" the great event. Between him and the Madonna is a pot of roses. Nothing of this painting has remained untouched, except perhaps some small portion of the robe of the angel and the head and hands of the Virgin. For the most part it has been spoilt by a vulgar hand that has gone over it with a heavy brush in tempera and gold. In the two principal figures, however, Schmarsow detects the Umbrian style, and in the rest the Lombard manner.

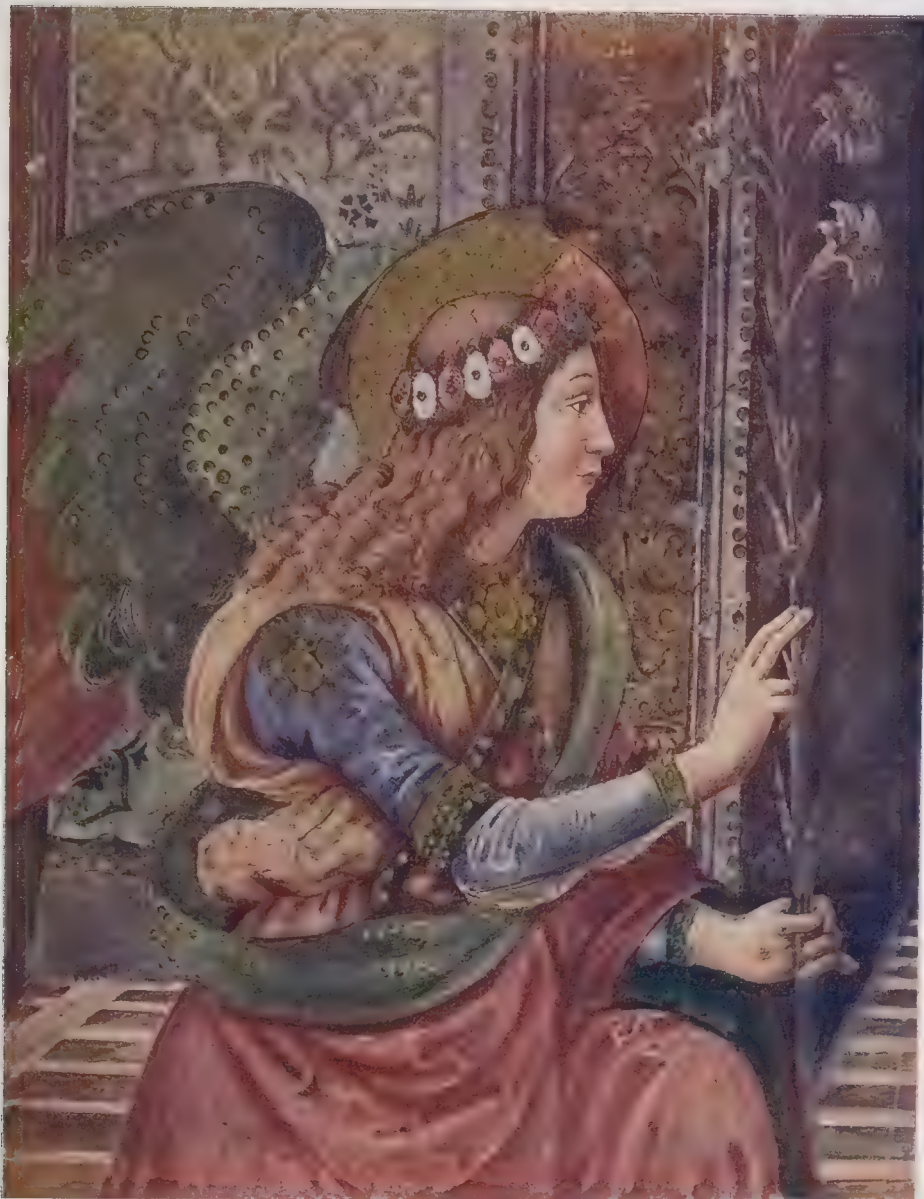
Ehrle and Stevenson, recalling the angel afterwards painted in the *Annunciation* of Spello, similar to this one to the very draperies, come to the conclusion "that the authorship of the two works is undoubtedly the same." Of this there is no doubt if they allude, not to the execution, but to the type of the composition and to the general character of the figures, which are clearly derived from drawings by Pintoricchio; of these drawings the artist who painted this angel must have made use for the *Annunciation*, as well as for the Babe and the Madonna in the neighbouring *Nativity*, so like those in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, and those too which are common to Umbrian art, especially the art of Perugino, as may be seen in the *Nativity* of the Exchange at Perugia, and that of the Villa Albani at Rome.

It shows the stable to the right, installed, as usual, in the ruins of an old building; the two beasts beside the manger; the Babe on the ground, on a linen cloth, His head on a bundle of tamarisks; the Madonna, with clasped hands, kneeling in adoration; S. Joseph kneeling, and leaning on his staff; two shepherds outside the stable; angels on the earth and in the sky, and, in the background, a great valley among hills and woods, with a view of towns and castles. But we need not delay long over the art of the fresco. The S. Joseph is so repainted as to be turned into a piece of seventeenth-century work; and the two prostrate angels and the two shepherds are not far from sharing the same fate. The central part, with the plump baby, the animals, and the landscape, is better preserved, or, to be more accurate, less injured.

*The Adoration of the Magi* (in which Schmarsow rightly distinguishes, in the group on the right, the hand of a follower of Sandro Botticelli and of Piero di Cosimo) shows in its architecture some affinity with that in the background of the *Annunciation*, which Schmarsow believes to be Lombard.

This third painting, which is certainly not by the hand of Bernardino, has also suffered considerably here and there. The brocaded robes of the first of the three





Fragment from the « Annunciation » in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican





Magi are all patched in the lower part, as are also portions of those of the young king, who stands with a small vase in his hand, and of the third, who is kneeling. Behind them is one of the customary landscapes, with hills and hollow rocks. Of the angels over their heads, hardly more than an indication remains.

To the same hand, it seems to us, judging from the figures and the landscape, and the rather muddy colouring, is due almost the whole of the *Ascension* and the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*.

Youthful faces with pointed chins, old men huddled up in large draperies, with multitudinous folds, hard and incorrect foreshortenings, hands and feet with fingers and toes knotted and disjointed, harsh faces, and a landscape of clipped trees jagged into solid masses, cypresses leaning all one way, heavy rocks like shattered tree-trunks; dark and heavy birds, are seen in both pictures, which are further almost identical in technique.\*

The painter is not lacking in a certain decorative grandeur, especially in the groups of the Apostles, variously posed, that stand near the kneeling Madonna, in one scene, while the Holy Ghost descends upon her in a circle of cherubim, and, in the other, above the window of the room, gaze up at the Redeemer, in a white garment, in the midst of rays of gold, ascending in an almond-shaped glory between two angels kneeling upon clouds, and a multitude of winged heads, over a wide bay closed in by mountains with towns and castles. The two frescoes have suffered a good deal, but perhaps less than the preceding ones.

Only in parts of the two paintings that have yet to be described, the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the *Resurrection of Christ*, can we unmistakably trace the hand of the master.

The *Assumption of the Virgin* has suffered considerably from injuries and restorations. Mary, seated, in a white mantle, her hands clasped, ascends to heaven, in



"ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN" SCHOOL OF PINTORICCHIO  
SALA DEI MISTERI, BORGHIA ROOMS

\* Steinmann (p. 52, note) attributes the picture in the Louvre with the Madonna, the Child, S. John the Baptist, and S. Gregory, of which we have spoken to the same artist. Venturi (*Le Aule dei Borgia*) sees in the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* the hand of Pintoricchio himself.

one of the customary almond-shaped glories,\* on the summit of which are seen three seraphim and two angels, and at the sides four angels playing musical instruments. In the two on the right-hand side, in spite of the ravages of the restorers, we cannot absolutely refuse to recognise the hand of Pintoricchio. It suggests itself in the treatment, the opaline colours of the flesh, the beauty of the drawing, especially of the extremities, the types of the faces, and the folds of the drapery. In the two others, the landscape, the Madonna, and the S. Thomas, who holds in his arms the girdle she has dropped, resemble the work of the Umbrian painter of the school of Perugino to whom we owe the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity*.†

A vivid realistic and chromatic note is struck by the figure in red, kneeling on the right of the sarcophagus (which is uncovered and full of roses), with his biretta before him on the ground. His head (the head of a man of adult age, the hair as if bathed with sweat, plastered down on the forehead) and the tips of the fingers, set together, palm to palm, are the only parts well preserved. The study of personal idiosyncrasies shows that it is a portrait, and it is a fine portrait in its contemplative severity, as of a proud, pious man, more used to command and to pray than to smile, something between a bigot and a martinet, modelled with skill and with mastery of light and shade. The ease with which it is assumed by many that the portrait represents Francesco Borgia, son of Calixtus III., Papal Treasurer, is not shared by Ehrle and Stevenson. "He," they write, "when Pintoricchio began work in the Borgia Rooms, was a mere chamberlain; it was later on that he became Treasurer and Bishop of Teano. There is nothing in the costume suggestive of a cardinal's dignity. If such a conjecture is not impossible, it must be admitted that it is not very probable."

Now let us turn to the most admired fresco in the room, which represents Alexander VI. adoring the risen Christ, a work almost entirely by Pintoricchio. Not his, however, is the figure of Christ swathed in white grave-clothes, irradiated by the splendour of the seraphim-encircled mandorla, His feet on clouds, a banner in His left hand, His right hand raised in benediction. The figure is heavy, hard, and repainted in many places, as are some of the seraphim and a great deal of the landscape. In the midst of this is seen a troop of little knights and soldiers treated as if in monochrome; on the right, beside a rock, a woman with two children, who seems to be the customary symbolical figure of Charity; on the left, near the towers of a city, another knight on horseback, very well drawn, and a man on foot behind him, and still further back a man lying asleep; then, more in the foreground, a little figure of a Turk, dressed in red; lastly, at the extreme left, a soldier in a coat of mail, seen from behind, against high rocks.

Beyond the open sarcophagus, which is supported on lions' claws, a soldier with a dark red cloak and a halberd looks up in astonishment. His head seems taken straight from a fresco of Melozzo's, originally in the Santi Apostoli, and now in the Sacristy of S. Peter's. The three other figures are undoubtedly portraits. There can be no question as to the portrait of the Pope, and it seems probable, taking into account the type, the

\* Venturi writes that the Virgin in glory is "similarly represented in the chapel of the Ara Cœli." Probably he means in S. Maria del Popolo.

† Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 63, compare this figure with the similar one in a small panel preserved in the Vatican Library, and also noted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, a work of the school, not of the master.





SALA DEI SANTI  
 PALAZZO MEDICI-RICCARDI  
 FLORENCE



costume, the grace and youth of the other three, that they are not meant to be merely soldiers on guard at the sepulchre, usually represented as adults, strong and rough, with sinister faces. The presence of Alexander inclines one to think that they represent his three sons, who were then at just such ages as these youths.\*

He had, as a matter of fact, by Vannozza Catanei, one daughter (Lucrezia) and four sons; but one of these, Pier Luigi, had been dead some five years before Pintoricchio began his work. It is true that Alexander had also a fifth son by Giulia Farnese, but some years after the decorations were finished. Therefore, there were in 1493 three sons, just as we see them in the picture. The one on the right, much re-touched, wearing a red doublet and a sky-blue cloak (the heraldic colours of the Borgias) relieved with gold, and with rich sandals on his feet, turns as if calling the others to see the miracle of the empty grave. He seems to be about 20 years old, the exact age of



Anderson, photo.

"THE VISITATION"

SALA DEI SANTI, BORGHIA ROOMS

Giovanni, who, as we know, was murdered by his brother Cesare in 1497. Cesare, a beautiful youth of about 18, with long yellow hair, is depicted kneeling on his left knee. He supports in both hands a tall halberd with bosses of gold, and wears red hose, doublet, and biretta, with gold spots. A light coat of mail bordered with gold hangs below his doublet. In front of the tomb, asleep, his head on a shield, lies a more beautiful, mysterious youth, who must be Jofrè, born in 1481. He is in complete armour, with greaves, cuirass, and coat of mail; he wears on his head a little red cap, from under which flows his waving yellow hair. The rich sword with its sheath of gold lies near him, on the ground. But why is there also the upper part of a halberd with the point broken? Why, above all, is his cuirass broken across the chest, and why in a gash just above the heart, is there the figure of a youth, with a cap on his head, his garments fastened with lacets; his cape, his cap, of such a kind that he cannot be meant for a reflection of either of the two figures in front of him? The whole, which we have

\* It is well known that the ecclesiastical titles with which they were invested did not prevent them from wearing civil and military costume, and even from marrying. This may be seen by the portraits of Cesare, who was Archbishop of Valenza, and by the fact that Jofrè, Archdeacon and Canon of Valenza, married Sancia of Aragon.



examined closely, can be clearly distinguished, and has been untouched by any restorer, though no one, so far as we are aware, has even referred to it in print. Was it a device of the painter to bring the effigy of Pier Luigi into the picture, as if, though dead, he still remained in the heart of his brother? Certainly there is no allusion to any violent deed, for Cesare's career of crime had not yet begun, nor would any such allusion have been possible in the very halls of the Borgias. But we can hardly put down as a mere jest on the part of the painter any detail in a scene in which the Pope was present. And why is the point of the halberd broken? Further into this strange incident we cannot penetrate; it is one of the many mysteries of the Borgias.

Let us now turn to the well-known figure of Alexander VI., kneeling in adoration, with his tiara and the two streamers of the infula laid beside him. The cloak, of gold brocade, is jewelled at the edges, but it is only at the shoulders and at the feet that it is original and richly manipulated; all the rest is damaged and re-touched. But the hands, in light gloves, are admirable, as is the whole profile of the head, with the grey of the beard and of the freshly shaved hair, and the soft pink flesh. It may be noted that, as we see from the eye-socket and the folds of the cheek, the head catches the light from below, which seems to indicate that the Pope himself posed on the scaffolding where the painter was at work.

At the time of this portrait he was 72 years of age, but he appears to be still full of vigour, and this confirms the contemporary descriptions of Girolamo Porzio, of Giasone Maino, &c.,\* and helps to explain the great influence which he possessed over Giulia Farnese; who had had by him, only a year before, a child baptized by the name of Laura, and who, indifferent to being called, with bitter satire, "sposa di Cristo," was living with Lucrezia in the palace of S. Maria in Portico. It would, therefore, be no wonder if her portrait were to be found in these rooms, as Vasari declares, and as does also an interpolator in the *Diario* of Infessura. But the errors of these writers, rather than any reflections of a moral order,† render research useless. Vasari indeed writes that Pintoricchio "painted above the door of a room the portrait of Signora Giulia Farnese in the face of Our Lady, and, in the same picture, the head of Pope Alexander adoring her."‡ But we find that he is adoring the Redeemer. So the other writer tells us that the portrait of Giulia is to be seen in a room of the Borgia tower,§ whereas there is no effigy of the Madonna, much less any portrait. It is true that above a door in the next room there is a *tondo* of a Madonna and Child, garlanded with seraphim; but it reproduces the usual type of Bernardino's Madonnas at this period, as, for example, that in the *Visitation* in the same room, and that of Sanseverino, and presents no idiosyncrasy or facial characteristic.

The room which we have endeavoured to describe is, in its whole aspect, somewhat

\* "Statura procerus, colore medio, nigris oculis, ore paululum pleniore." His health, he continues, "is lusty; he supports fatigue of every kind more than any one would believe. He is extraordinarily fluent of speech, and every uncourtly way is displeasing to him." Thus Porzio; and Maino: "His aspect elegant, his forehead serene, his regard regal; his face expresses at once liberality and majesty, his whole person a genial and heroic composure." Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, p. 9.

† Aubert, *art. cit.* in *Kunstbladet* of Copenhagen.

‡ *ibid.* p. 499.

§ *Diario della Città di Roma*, di Stefano Infessura, edito da Oreste Tommasini (Romae, 1890), p. 293, note 1. Cf. also the *Diario* of Burchard, ii. p. 85, note 1.



Pope Alexander VI from the 'Resurrection' in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican





bewildering and excessive in its richness and splendour, and it is curious that any one should have supposed that the simplicity of some of the compositions was deliberate, and intended as a relief to the eyes.\*

Here the eye finds no relief from floor to ceiling, and if some moderation is evident in the way the figures are arranged without crowding, it is due to the simple, almost humble, mode of composition of the Umbrian school, that sometimes is mere poverty, and finds nothing better than to repeat itself, in order to avoid all that tumult of figures, so dear to Tuscan art. For the rest, where the master has put no figures, he has put architecture, rocks, trees; he has scattered crowns, rays, waves, oxen, freeing them from the shields in which mediæval heraldry had confined them, and over all he has showered flakes of gold, which settle upon robes, and cloaks, and cuirasses, and helmets, and tiaras; upon the aureoles of saints and the wings of angels; on the grass, and leaves, and hills, and houses, and animals, glittering from every side as if to cast a little light into the dread darkness of the souls of the Borgias.



*Antiquarian, photo.*

SS. ANTHONY AND PAUL  
SALA DEI SANTI, BORGIA ROOMS

\* \* \*

Pintoricchio worked somewhat more in the next room, known as the Room of the Saints, into which a composition has found its way which ought, by the nature of its subject, to have been painted in the former room among the episodes in the life of the Madonna; we refer to the *Visitation*, a work wholly, we believe, by the master's hand. The lunette is occupied by a loggia, standing in the open country, supported by pilasters with grotesques (in one of which are the letters ALEX.), arches of various sizes with elegant figured medallions between them. From the terrace above a young fair-haired woman leans over and looks down; by her side is an

\* Steinmann, p. 51: "Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 62, consider that the unity of action in the *Adoration of the Magi* is broken, because one of them is not looking at the Babe, and stands in a theatrical attitude. In this case the whole art of the Renaissance from that time forward might be considered as without unity of action!"

old woman who draws flax from the distaff. On the right, under the portico, is a pleasant scene of everyday life. Young women, in the dresses of the period, standing or sitting on low footstools, spin or embroider; one woman, advanced in years, works



infersan, photo.

"SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS"  
SALA DEI SANTI, BORGGI ROOMS

at a loom; a little fair-haired boy with a fine profile teaches a white dog to stand on its hind-legs; and behind them the aged Zachariah passes, quietly reading. Beyond the portico, in the meadows, young men are seen fighting with arms; one has already fallen wounded. So, in the various figures, the life of the time is summed up: games for the children, household work for women, study and prayer for the old, and war for the young. The dilapidations and retouches are considerable, both here and in the other parts of the painting, but, taken as a whole, this scene shows the power of the master, and may be compared, more than any other, with the works in the Ara Coeli, especially the gracious group behind S. Joseph, elegant figures of fair-haired youths, an infant in a white shirt, holding in his

arms a head of Indian corn, like a younger brother of the *putti* of the Ara Coeli and the *Journey of Moses* in the Sistine Chapel, and an adorable young woman, dressed in sky-blue, stepping carefully with a basket of fruit on her head. Ought we to look for portraits among these figures? What could help us in our identifications? Certainly here and there we find typical heads, very different in handling from the conventional ones, as for instance the S. Joseph leaning on a stick with a languor that well expresses the fatigue of a long journey, the graceful Virgin, and the mercilessly "restored" S. Elizabeth. The background with other figures and a canal shows traces of somewhat recent ill-usage.

More simple is the scene of S. Anthony with S. Paul, the first hermit, in the desert, handed down by artistic tradition, and seen again and again, in various paintings and in successive ages. Who can fail to recognise the same composition in the predella of a picture by Luca Signorelli in the Gallery at Perugia, earlier by some years (1488)? And who can fail to note its reproduction, with almost religious exactitude, in the middle of the seventeenth century, in a broader and more massive,



form in the picture by Velasquez in the Prado? Here also the two great anchorites sit placidly opposite to one another, at the foot of a hollow rock, overshadowed by the black flight of a raven. And we must admit that, considering the time and the

art of Pintoricchio, his two figures (his own undoubtedly) are full of austere solemnity. S. Anthony, in a dark cloak with a white hood, and S. Paul, dressed in a coarse tunic of interwoven palm-leaves, both with lean arms and wasted faces, and eyes fixed and burning, break the bread brought by the raven, now winging its way back to its wood. And between them murmurs a little stream, and beyond them rises one of those hollow rocks so often repeated by the master, who has here raised it to a gigantic height, to the sharp apex of the lunette, hanging on it the monastic bell. Schmarsow discovers in the two companions or disciples of S. Anthony who come forward on the right, the work of a follower of Luca Signorelli, and Venturi in the three she-devils on the left, whom he calls "the three



*Antikongphoto*

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS  
SALA DEI SANI BORGHI ROMA

Graces," that of a pupil of Perugino. They may be right. But we believe that Pintoricchio is responsible for these three, at all events for the design, if not for the execution, so clearly are they creations of the master, alike in attitude, costume, and arrangement of the hair. It is true that the technical details, from the hook-like curve in the folds to the tone of the colours differ from his, and are more in the manner of Perugino.\* The three demon-women have gentle and beautiful faces, with lips tight shut and pouting as if to dart out kisses, dresses varied and vivid of colour and rich in ornament, the delicate hands of fine ladies, stretched out with grace, one holding a little box; but instead of feet they have the talons of birds of prey; from their heads spring twisted horns; from their shoulders green bats' wings (the emblem of vice ever since the time of Giotto). They come, fawning and alluring, taking counsel together as to their mode of attack, while S. Anthony, turning his back upon them calmly, talks of divine things with his companion.

\* Schmarsow, p. 43, says that Helbig discovered on the rocks the letters G. Baz. But no one since has ever seen this signature, which seemed to him to point to Sodoma (Gio. Ant. Bazzi).



A very slight examination of the *Martyrdom of S. Sebastian* ought to have sufficed to disabuse the minds of those who were tempted to attribute it to the hand of Pintoricchio, to whom we may perhaps assign the good composition of the scene, and the design, save, as we shall see, for the Bellinesque figure of an Oriental seated on the ground with crossed legs. Meanwhile, the nude S. Sebastian (bound to a pillar against an ancient ruin, amidst other fragments of marble), both in the drawing and in the treatment of the rich hair, touched with quivering and broken lights, the form of the small, curved mouth, and the streaky painting of the face, betrays the hand of that follower of Perugino, who painted in the Room of the Mysteries, in the *Assumption* (cf. the S. Thomas), in the *Annunciation*, &c.

It is impossible to deny the direct derivation of this S. Sebastian from that by Perugino, painted at Cerqueto about 1478. The same manner is noticeable in the first and handsomest fair-haired archer on the left, and in the one on the right, seen from behind. The others reveal an inferior hand, unable to render the elegance of their slender forms. Awkward indeed is the archer in the costume of an ancient warrior, who puts his hand to his forehead, at the extreme left of the picture. Tradition says that S. Sebastian was put to death on the Palatine. This no doubt accounts for the custom of so many painters, besides Pintoricchio, of painting Rome in the background of his martyrdom, with its triumphal arches and the Colosseum.\* They appear in the two *S. Sebastians* of Mantegna, and, above all, in that of Luca Signorelli, at Città di Castello, which has other points of contact with this of the Borgia Rooms; as, for instance, the variety of position of the archers, who draw cross-bows, hand arrows, aim, shoot. But in the painting in the Borgia Rooms all this makes a more lively and striking effect, because the executioners are not obliged to stand close to their victim, but have space to aim and let fly from a certain distance, which gives the scene more breadth and naturalness.

But in the background, beyond the Colosseum, and more to the right, on a little hill, stands a church. Some have suggested that the artist intended to represent S. Giovanni e Paolo. Now it is more natural to suppose that he would have represented the church of the saint to whom the picture is dedicated. On the left are more rocks, a large lonely valley, trees, and a troop of soldiery, and in the sky an angel, who brings the martyr's crown, and, according to Pintoricchio's custom, various birds, among which is the usual falcon seizing a duck, while a sinister owl, on a window-ledge near the saint, hoots of approaching death.

The garden of Joachim in Babylon fills the next lunette; it is surrounded by a low red wall, and by a hedge of roses, on a lattice of golden reeds. On the grass and flowers (in which certain wretched modern gardeners have worked havoc), a roebuck, a stag, rabbits, a hare, and a monkey on a chain are resting quietly in the shade. The bath which Susanna, fair daughter of Chalcias and chaste wife of Joachim, is about to enter, is represented in the form of a magnificent fountain that rises almost to the top of the lunette, like the rocks in the picture of S. Anthony and S. Paul, and the tower in the neighbouring picture of S. Barbara. The lower octagonal basin,

\* The Colosseum is also represented by Pintoricchio in a medallion in the Palazzo Colonna and in a *grisaille* at S. Maria del Popolo. Sodoma, too, to say nothing of others, has an important reproduction of it at S. Anna in Camprena, near Pienza.



Fragment from the St. Anthony and St. Paul, in the Borgin Rooms in the Vatican





raised on two steps, glowing with ornament on a blue ground, and bordered with stucco reliefs, is full of water, and out of this rises a kind of rich candelabrum supporting two basins, on which are three *puttini*, in gold relief: two on the larger one with cornucopias, the other at the top, playing with a dolphin, as on Verocchio's famous fountain. The two elders, full of evil desires, have fallen upon Susanna, seeing her begin to undress; she has taken off her outer garment of gold and her slippers, and stands in her blue under-dress. The elders would strip her of everything: the one on the left holds her firmly, that she may offer no resistance; the other tries to take off her garment, and uncovers her arm and left shoulder in her shift. Their attitude, clearly expressive of this purpose, disposes of the legend that Pintoricchio had painted Susanna nude, and that the blue garment had been added for decency. If other arguments are required, it may be seen that the outline and some of the folds of the garment

were drawn on the wall for the fresco, when the plaster was still wet, and that in an episode in the background Susanna has garments of the same form and colour.\* One of the elders wears a rich costume of gold brocade, blue shoes, and a red cloak, disordered by his violent movement. His face has an intensity of expression unusual in Pintoricchio, who painted this group. It shows at once eagerness in the eyes and force in the contraction of the mouth; eagerness in his desire of her, and force to overcome the resistance that she offers to him, as she holds her outstretched arm rigidly against him. The group is composed with much energy. A purse lies on the



Anderson photo.

FLIGHT AND MARTYRDOM OF S. BARBARA  
SALA DEI SANTI BORGIA ROOMS

\* Some have been confirmed in the false opinion on seeing that the blue colour is not in fresco, but comes off at a touch. In olden times ultramarine was almost invariably used as a body colour, either for economy, because, as it was very costly, the damp wall absorbed too much; or because, being sandy, it mixed badly with the fresco, did not spread, and was apt to smear. Its immense cost was the reason why employers bound themselves to furnish it to the artist, specifying the point in their contracts, and why at times new painters scraped it off old paintings in order to use it again. Cennino calls it "noble, beautiful, and most perfect," and teaches how to counterfeit it in fresco-painting (*Il Libro dell'Arte*, Florence, 1859, pp. 37 and 55). Thus in all the treatises it is considered the most precious of colours (*Il Libro dei Colori*, Bologna, 1887, pp. 3, 69, &c.). In the frescoes at Spello and Siena Pintoricchio used ultramarine dry. And in the contract for the frescoes at Siena, it is specified beforehand, twice over, that he may retouch them "*a secco*."

ground, from which gold coins have dropped. It has the air of a dishonourable offering, refused and cast away. But in this case the painter was keeping a little too closely to the methods of his own times, seeing that Susanna was very rich, and that the two elders proposed to offer her violence.

In the background are two minor scenes, which, not only in their careful certainty of touch, but still more in their facial types, are in the manner of Pintoricchio. At the left is seen Susanna, accused and condemned, going to the place of execution, urged on by kicks and blows, among horsemen, soldiers, and people, while the youthful Daniel runs forward and stops the chief of the warriors, proclaiming the innocence of this daughter of Israel. On the other side the two old libertines and calumniators, naked and bound to the trunk of a tree, back to back, suffer deserved insult and punishment, among a crowd of men and children who throw stones at them.

It is only the sky, blue and furrowed with great birds, clearing towards the horizon, which is bounded by hills and woods, in fine harmonies of tone, with the customary hollow rocks, and scattered gold, that clearly shows the hand of a pupil. For the rest we see no reason for thinking of Sodoma, as does Schmarsow, who sees his hand in the animals and in the garments of Susanna;\* or of another assistant, as does Steinmann, for the figures in the distance.†

The next lunette is devoted to Barbara, another young and beautiful saint (Alexander VI. delighted in female beauty, even of a saintly cast‡). In the midst rises the tower, ugly, dark and massive, with rugged buttresses, the three windows, which the saint had made, according to the legend,§ in honour of the Trinity, and the crevice that miraculously allowed of the flight. And Barbara flies. Her red garments and yellow hair are the prey of the wind, and also of the restorer! But the little clasped hands, and the delicate face, and the eyes raised to heaven with a look of humble thankfulness, lend her an exquisite grace and sweetness. The father with his drawn sword in his hand comes out to pursue her, and, not seeing her, goes in the opposite direction, followed by two soldiers. In the hilly background, through which flows a beautiful river, the work of a pupil, are two minor episodes. On one side the father, who asks news of his fugitive daughter of a shepherd, and the shepherd, who for his treachery, turns white as his flock, becoming a pillar of stone; on the other, S. Barbara with S. Juliana, who suffered martyrdom on the same day, and who is commemorated with her in this legend. In regard to the decorative part of this scene, as of the larger one of S. Catherine, it is impossible not to concur (apart from its rough form) in the truth of an observation of Vasari's: "Bernardino," he says, "was much given to use in his pictures ornaments in gold relief, for the satisfaction of persons who understood little of art, that they might have more show and lustre; which is a most clumsy device in painting. Having, therefore, made in these rooms a history of S. Catherine, he put in the Roman arches in relief, and the painted figures in such a way that the figures being in front and the buildings behind, the things that should diminish come forward, more than those that should increase to the eye; a very great heresy in our art."§

Now, without speaking of clumsy devices or of heresy, we must say that the thing is

\* P. 41.

† Jacobi a Varagine, *Legenda Aurea* (Breslau, 1900), p. 900.

‡ P. 62.

§ Vol. iii. p. 499.



FIGURE OF S. BARBARA

*SALA DEI SANTI, BORGIA ROOMS*

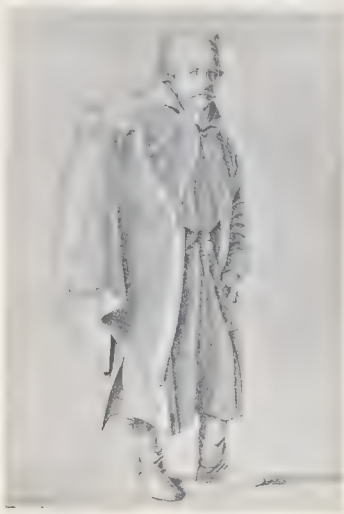




not indeed altogether agreeable. In the large scene of S. Catherine it is less noticeable, because the reliefs, catching the light from the front, cast no shadow or projection on the figures that should stand out well in the foreground; but in the lunette of S. Barbara this does happen, and it is disturbing. One doorway of the tower, for instance, being in relief, casts a shadow on the shoulder and elbow of one of the soldiers, confusing his position, in regard to the perspective, pulling him back against the wall of the tower, instead of making him seem well in front of it and sharply detached.

The most famous painting, not only of the Borgia Rooms, but of Pintoricchio, is undoubtedly the *Dispute of S. Catherine* with fifty philosophers assembled by the Emperor Maximinius. There is a story that the large space allowed to the painter for this representation is due to its being that of a saint of Alexandria, protectress of those who bear the name of Alexander. Whether pontiff or historians played upon the words we neither know nor need know. S. Catherine is protectress of bastards, and Alexander had good reason to commend his sons to her.

The scene takes place in a wide plain, with blue mountains in sight, which slope down to the sea with the usual rocks and small trees, flecked with gold, some at the back completely gilded, as if with a soft autumn glow, under a sky sprinkled with birds, and shining in the sunlight, which, towards the horizon, melts into a fine dust of gold. In the midst rises a great arch imitated from the Arch of Constantine, as in Perugino's *Delivery of the Keys*, in Signorelli's *S. Sebastian*, &c., to name only the Umbrians. This arch has wreathed columns, bases, and capitals, statues above the columns, and the ox at the summit, between the candelabra of stucco and gilt papier-mâché, that disturbed the good Vasari so much. The medallions, the friezes and the two rectangular reliefs, lateral to the inscription PACIS CULTORI, are, however, in monochrome of a dull reddish tone, like porphyry. So Pintoricchio immortalised some of the splendid erections put up in August 1492, for the coronation of Alexander; among which were triumphal arches with the figure of the ox here and there, sometimes beside the figure symbolical of Rome, sometimes as a fountain pouring out water and wine.\* We believe in fact that this crowded composition, with its figures of animals, women, boys, nobles, knights, its varied and splendid costumes, the arch, the throne, and the heraldic signs, might, better than the description of any historian, give one an idea of Rome as it was in the magnificence of those festivals in which "luxury, artistic taste, and servility vied with one another in the deification of the Spaniard Borgia."



Kuhl, photo.

COPY OF A DRAWING BY GENTILE BELLINI

IN THE STUDY OF THE INSTITUTION OF ARTS IN THE MUSEUM

\* Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma*, vii. p. 368.

The scene of the *Dispute* is broken into two large lateral groups, divided towards the middle, leaving the field to a few figures. One of these, a learned man or philosopher, seen almost from behind, with a yellow cloak, a blue robe, red biretta and streamers (all somewhat the worse for wear), points out a passage in a book held by a young page with long yellow hair, elegantly dressed, but distorted by retouches, as are also the two wise men standing near, one in a red cloak, the other in a white robe embroidered with gold.

Near the page stands the slender figure of the Saint, also sadly damaged, although the unfortunate labours of the restorer have not entirely deprived her of her gracious original aspect, and half sweet, half surprised expression, as if she were sustained in her argument by some unconscious force or some higher suggestion. Her eyes are fixed upon Maximinius, her lips seems to part rather for sighs than words, her flesh has an alabaster transparency that seems to melt into the flowing stream of yellow hair that covers her shoulders. Her crown, in relief, has almost disappeared, and her hands are badly retouched; she marks off each question on her fingers;\* the blue robe with flowers and knots of gold, the heart-shaped embroidery on the bosom, the sleeves of some corded stuff puffed at the elbow, the red mantle, have also suffered from meddlesome hands. Some, enlarging on their interpretation of the words of Vasari, suppose that Pintoricchio painted the portrait of Lucrezia in the person of S. Catherine; but Lucrezia would at that time have been thirteen years old, and the figure in the picture is quite twenty.

Less injured is the figure of the Turk facing the spectator (with white turban, white drapery flowered with blue and red, his badly re-painted hands in his girdle, his mantle disfigured by re-touches) who stands on the other side of the throne of Maximinius, and whom we shall see again in the frescoes in the Siena Library. Near him stands a page with his head inclined in the usual fashion, holding the Emperor's sword. Over against him stand four other men, three very much re-touched, and the fourth, a Moor, completely re-painted. The throne of Maximinius, with three marble steps, arabesqued with gold, on which are laid some books, is partly ornamented, on a ground reticulated as if in mosaic,† with reliefs in gold: with griffins, sphinxes, and in the centre the head of an ox. The back, supported by small pilasters, has a covering of white, red, and green material. Maximinius, with a pointed beard, long hair, and an intent expression, sits on the throne in an easy attitude. His robe glitters with ornaments, and with golden reflections. It is needless to say that, in this man of thirty or more, some have recognised Cesare Borgia, who, in 1493, was, as we have said, hardly eighteen years of age! This mania for identification, however, seems to mislead the best critics, as we shall see. Meanwhile, let us note that the figure of the Emperor has suffered greatly, as well as the majority of those standing higher up, almost in shadow behind the throne, and also the so-called "Greek," who stands beside the throne, wearing a red cap with a blue border, a yellow flowered robe, a pink cloak, red hose, and gold lacets. Though more severe and thoughtful in aspect, he is yet indifferent, almost cut off from the

\* Ehrle and Stevenson, p. 66, write: "The gesture with which she enumerates her arguments on her fingers is perhaps copied from the S. Catherine of Masaccio in S. Clemente." But the gesture, which is found before that in Byzantine art, is equally common in the art of the school of Giotto.

† "It is noticeable," say Ehrle and Stevenson, "that, for the guidance of assistants, the word *mosaico* was written here, and can still be read."





The Dispute of St. Catherine (Fragment) in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican



scene, as is also the Turk who stands opposite, on the left of the throne: two figures which, in costume, form, and pictorial feeling, and in their position full face to the spectator, are so foreign to the rest of the composition, that they seem brought in from some other world, as Lodovico Seitz has justly said. Now they are really two intruders, from Venetian art, set down in the very midst of Umbrian art (like the other Oriental who, in the opposite fresco, superintends the martyrdom of S. Sebastian), but certainly not Paleologus and Djem, with whom Messrs. Ehrle and Stevenson think they can "with certainty identify them,"\* falling victims to the "fables" for which they rebuke the guides.

In the Städel Institute at Frankfort-on-the-Main there is a drawing resembling the figure of the "Greek."† Another, resembling the figure of the "Turk" is in the Louvre; a third, resembling the figure of the Oriental sitting on the ground in the *Martyrdom of S. Sebastian*, is preserved in the British Museum.‡

This one alone is an original, treated with finesse, and a delicate sense of fusion; the straight, simple folds afford large and quiet spaces; while the type is unlike that of Pintoricchio, or indeed of any Umbrian artist. The other two, though somewhat in the same manner, cannot be anything but copies, so poor and meagre is the execution. Besides these three drawings, there are certain others not dissimilar: one, also an original, in the British Museum, representing a Greek or Albanian woman, sitting on the ground,§ and three other copies, hard, cold, and ill-drawn, one of a Turk with a stolid face and a half-open mouth, one of a woman standing, full face, with a rose in her left hand|| (in the Louvre), and one of an Albanian in a short tunic, his cap pressed down upon his head (in the Städel Institute, Frankfort-on-the-Main). All these drawings were and are attributed to Gentile Bellini; two only, those in the British Museum, should be so attributed, while the others should be looked upon as copies done by some one who wanted models of Eastern costume. But the fact that three of them correspond to three figures painted by Pintoricchio has induced Adolfo Venturi to take them all from Gentile Bellini, and to hand them over to Bernardino, without distinguishing between originals and copies.¶



DRAWING BY GENTILE BELLINI  
Brit. Mus. No. 10, 11

\* P. 66. One who has the courage of a lion in recognising the persons whose portraits are given in the pictures, and the hands of different painters in different parts of the rooms, is Boyer d'Agen (*op. cit.* pp. xlvii.-li.). In the King with the lilies in the *Adoration of the Magi* he sees Louis XI., and he knows that it was Benedetto Bonfigli who made the designs for the Rooms of the Creed and the Sibyls!

† The photograph which we reproduce here was taken by Dr. Albert Brack specially for this book.

‡ E. Müntz, *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*.—I. *Les Primitifs* (Paris 1889), p. 302. § Morelli, iii. p. 76.

|| That this is a copy may be seen, not only from the poverty of the drawing, but from the written words, which are in a different and less archaic handwriting than those of the *Seated Woman* in the British Museum.

¶ *Disegni del Pintoricchio per l'Appartamento Borgia in Vaticano* in *L'Arte*, i (Rome, 1898), pp. 32, 43. All seven drawings are reproduced.



As a matter of fact these models, both originals and copies, manifestly belong to Venetian art, and to Gentile; and Pintoricchio, just as we have seen him taking designs from Leonardo, Justus of Ghent, Pollajuolo, Signorelli, Mantegna, Perugino, &c.,

has had recourse, for Eastern figures, to the fine drawings made by Bellini during his long stay (1479-1480) in Constantinople in the service of Mahomet II.\*

We agree, however, with Frizzoni, who notes that, before denying what is already established regarding the drawings of Pintoricchio, their character, and the character of his art, it is necessary to consider the question, not from the point of view of the material resemblance between the frescoes and the costumes in a couple of drawings, but from a careful critical examination of the drawings themselves,† and that they are not due to Pintoricchio, nor to the Umbrian school, seems to us evident. We may add that Mr. Arthur Strong has discovered another drawing of the "cycle," with directions in the same handwriting, which



Andersen, photo.

"ISIS FINDING THE BODY OF OSIRIS"

SALA DEI SANZI, BORGLIA ROOMS

represents a camel, and is the drawing for the camel in the *Sermon of S. Mark* in the Brera at Milan. After all these arguments, it is interesting to note a phrase in the will of Gentile Bellini, in which he leaves to Ventura and to Girolamo (Santacroce?), his assistants, his drawings removed from Rome: "*Item dimitto et dari volo Ventura et Gieronimo meis garzonibus mea omnia designa retracts de Roma, qua inter ipso equaliter dividantur.*"‡ Therefore there must have been many drawings by Gentile at Rome. What wonder if they were precisely these Oriental drawings, of which Pintoricchio

\* L. Thuasne, *Notes sur le Séjour du Peintre vénitien Gentile Bellini à Constantinople* (Paris, 1880). In *L'Art et l'histoire* of 1890 (p. 19) will be found a review of this work by C. de Fabriczy. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, i. p. 125, note 3. Layard, *Handbook of Painting: The Italian Schools* (London, 1887), i. p. 305.

† Zu den vermeinten Zeichnungen für das Appartamento Borgia in the *Kunstchronik* of the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (Leipzig, 1898). See also *Repertorium für Kunstgeschichte*, xx. p. 284. Frizzoni mentions that in the original drawing of the seated woman in the British Museum, in the written indication of the colours, is found the word *ariento*, the Venetian form, not the Umbrian.

‡ Dated February 18, 1506. Communicated by Signor Gustavo Ludwig.

made use? All this completely upsets the argument of those who point out that their theory "clears up all doubts" as to the supposition that one of the personages represents that Paleologus, known as "the despot," who lived for many years at the Court of Alexander VI. This too, we repeat, is a very feeble hypothesis, and far from enough to persuade us that the drawings are by Pintoricchio, especially if it entails an acceptance of the inferiority of Bellini, "in the expression of character and in scrupulous exactitude."\* Indeed, we cannot understand how any one can resort to the arguments of Ehrle and Stevenson, in defence of Venturi, when Venturi himself is not in accord with them in regard to the portrait of Djem. As we have seen, they are firmly persuaded that the Turk who stands on the other side of the throne represents Djem. On the other hand Venturi, Steinmann, and Phillips assume that the portrait of Djem is to be found in the Turk on a white horse on the right, seen from behind, with a large white turban on his head, a cloak brocaded with gold on his shoulders, and sword, saddle and hose of red material worked in gold, like the blue trappings of the horse. Steinmann seeks to find a resemblance between this Turk and Mahomet II., in order to confirm the opinion that it is a portrait of his son Djem, while Ehrle and Stevenson declare that the resemblance is found in *their* Turk! The guides tell you that it is Giovanni Borgia in Turkish costume (a costume which Giovanni really used to wear),† but they forget that he was at that time only nineteen or twenty years old.

In conclusion, critics, historians, and guides, in their identification of portraits, are much like the company at the bridge of Rifredi, they agree but little and ill; so that we shall be careful to follow neither one nor the other, when neither one nor the other has more than a conjecture to offer. The costumes of the Levant, especially Turkish



*Chalcross, photo*

"OSIRIS TEACHING THE ART OF FRUCTICULTURE."  
SALA DEI SANI, BORGHETTI MUSEUM

\* A. C. on the French edition of Ehrle and Stevenson's book in *L'Arte*, ii. (Rome, 1899), p. 235.

† Burchard (ii. p. 69) says that in a procession of May 5, 1493, was seen "*Johannes Borgia dux Gandie Valentinus filius SS. D. N. pape in habitu turcorum.*"



costumes, were then in fashion in Italy, and it is certain that Djem was not the first to appear in them when he came to Rome in 1489. Some years earlier, in 1472, Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa had returned triumphantly to Italy after the siege of Smyrna, "with twenty-five Turkish prisoners and twelve camels laden with the spoils of the enemy." In 1481 the Turks appeared at Puglia, captured and sacked Otranto, and spread over all that region.



*A. Venturi, photo.*

SALA DELLE ARTI LIBERALI E DELLE SCIENZE  
BORJA ROOM, VATICAN

Mahomet II. having died, and a conflict having arisen between his two sons, Otranto was surrendered, and although the Turks received permission to go, the Duke of Calabria despoiled and made prisoners about fifteen hundred, and took them about Italy, as mercenaries. In 1483 he had five hundred with him at Ferrara, whence a hundred and fifty deserted to the camp of the Venetians.\* When, therefore, Djem came to Rome from Auvergne, handed over by the Knights of Rhodes, there was not, so to speak, a self-respecting city that had not seen some hundreds of Turks, so that it would have been strange indeed if his arrival had "made a singular impression on the minds of the Romans" and of Pintoricchio.

Pintoricchio, who delighted in splendour and luxury, and astounding effects of decoration, was pleased to copy these rich Oriental costumes; he made use of his own

\* Muratori, *Annali*, ix. pp. 313, 337-38, 343, &c.



direct observation as well as of the drawings of others ; he invented some costumes and transformed others to suit himself, filling out certain pompous draperies, already seen in the paintings of Fiorenzo and Perugino.

But Steinmann finds still more : he thinks that the halberdiers, the pages, the knights on horseback, the greyhounds, represent a hunting-party, painted perhaps in honour of the Turkish guest ! How very much more desperate a hunt is it, on our part, after like-



Anderson, photo.

ASTRONOMY

S. L. 1111. THE LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN

nesses, which are certainly there in the crowd on the right, among the conventional faces, and under the fantastic head-dresses, and more especially on the left, behind the Greek and the two *putti* who contend for the book, but who seem, in their Olympic calm, to laugh at our idle curiosity. Ugo Fleres writes : " In this lordly composition I observe one head in a corner on the left-hand side which has the individual character of a portrait. Is it too rash to conjecture that this person is a Tuscan ? I would say further an artist, perhaps a Florentine, and it might even be one whose by no means Umbrian individuality seems to proclaim itself here and there in the frescoes of the next room ; but I fear that my hobby-horse of conjecture is running away with me ! " \* Apologies are needless ! The hobby-horse of conjecture has run away with us all !

\* \* \*

\* Article quoted in the *Vita Italiana*, p. 686. Steinmann, with more reason, is of opinion that this figure represents an architect, on account of the carpenter's square that he holds in his hand.

In the two quadripartite divisions of the vault, with their richly decorated ribs running up to the shield and its coat of arms, Pintoricchio, in glorification of the heraldic ox of the Borgias, has represented the myth of Isis and Osiris, in a series of episodes, containing coloured figures on green plains with trees and shrubs standing out against a blue background with gold arabesques. In one panel, by the side of a tall gold candelabrum in relief, a priest joins the hands of Isis and Osiris, forming a group almost similar to that in which the Umbrians usually represent the *Marriage of the Virgin*. Near by is a *putto* astride of a swan (one of the frequent motives of classic art revived by the painter), and on the opposite side are figures of warriors, and trophies. In another filling, again by the side of a candelabrum, Osiris teaches the art of fructiculture to two men who carry and set up canes, on which to train the vines. In the two minor sectors are other incidents relating to Osiris, who is represented in the same costume, but seated in little gilded temples with ornaments, arabesques, and medallions, lamentably bedaubed. Over one of them, a strange mingling of Scripture and mythology, stands the figure of David, with his hand on his hip, his sling, and under his feet the head of Goliath; over the other, the slim and willowy figure of Judith with her sword and the head of Holofernes, a figure very like that already painted by Pintoricchio in the Palazzo Colonna. At the sides of the little temples of Osiris are represented the field industries which he taught after having assumed the government of Egypt. On one side we see the culture of apples, which are being picked by youths who climb the trees; on the other, the ploughing of the earth with oxen.

In the other division, in the longer triangles, amidst the usual candelabra, shines the gilded bull Apis, near a pyramid and an altar, gazing upon the tragic slaughter of Osiris, struck to the ground among scattered arms and pierced through by his brother Typhon, and two other warriors, while a boy runs away with a dog barking in his arms, and others look on in horror. Two other little temples are seen in the smaller sectors, enclosing the pyramid and the ox. That with the ox, on which is placed a little statue of Hercules, is transformed into a litter carried in procession by four men, while at the head two *putti* blow on trumpets; this is the triumph of Osiris changed into the god Apis, figuring the triumph of the emblem of the Borgias. At the sides of the other, surmounted by a little figure of Neptune, and containing the pyramid studded with precious stones, Isis is seen in white draperies, in the act of finding the scattered members of her husband; lifting in her hands the bloodless head, she turns away her face at the horrible sight.

In these compositions, greatly damaged and re-touched, the master's invention is always apparent, and often his hand manifests itself in the festive elegance of the tones and in the grace of the forms, but we see, too, the hand of the pupil or assistant who worked on the *Astronomy* in the next room, and also the hand of the one who painted the episodes on the octagons of the soffit of the arch gilded papier-mâché, amidst the reliefs, a painter with special characteristics of his own (as we shall see when we come to his other works) very distinct from those of the school of Francia, of whom Schmarsow is reminded.\* (1) Mercury, an agile youth, plays on the syrinx. Opposite to him Argus, with eyes over all his body, and the ox near him, leans on his staff, listening in amazement, and falls asleep. (2) In a landscape closed in by high rocks, Jove, followed by the

\* P. 46.





Fragment from the «Dispute of St. Catherine» in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican





white heifer, into which Io has been changed, advances toward the blonde Hero. (3) Hero, withdrawing timidly, tries to fly from Jove, who draws her to him. In the softly tinted background, are trees, rocks, and a city. (4) Isis sits on her throne, ruling Egypt, while Osiris has gone to the conquest of India. (5) Mercury gives the death-blow to Argus, who closes his eyes in supplication. In the landscape is a wide river crossed by a bridge.

If we knew for certain who painted the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the apse, behind the high altar of S. Girolamo near Spello, or the *Epiphany* under the outer portico of the same church, wrongly assigned to Pintoricchio, or the *Archangel Michael* in the Leipzig Gallery, we should know the name of the excellent artist who painted the octagons we have described, and who helped in the rest of the vault; for the same hand is undoubtedly to be seen in the tender colouring, in the heavy extremities, in the profiles with the forehead and nose almost in a straight line,



MUSIC  
SALA DELLE ARTI LIBERALI BORGIA ROOMS

in the full faces with small and shining eyes, the noses, not very distinctly outlined except at the sharp tips, where they are lighted up by a bright touch; the mouths with the lower lip thinner than the upper lip, the draperies drawn with alternating folds, the scarves and shawls with many-coloured stripes. But, as we have pointed out, even this perfect artistic agreement between separate works does not help one very much in suggesting a name, because we have only the faintest and most uncertain attributions to deal with. In regard to the *Marriage*, the names of Fiorenzo and of Lattanzio, son of Nicolò di Liberatore, have been put forward, besides generic references to the schools of Perugino and of Pintoricchio.\* As for the *Epiphany* under the portico, it has been attributed to Fiorenzo, to a pupil of Pintoricchio, and to Pintoricchio himself.† But the

\* Urbini, *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello* in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, x. p. 401. Mariano Guardabassi (*Indice-Guida dei Monumenti . . . esistenti nell'Umbria-Perugia*, 1872), and Margherini-Graziani (*L'Arte a Città di Castello*, p. 248, and plate lxvii.) attribute it to Fiorenzo. Lattanzio's name is suggested by Adamo Rossi (*I Pittori di Foligno in the Giornale d'Erudizione artistica*, i. Perugia, 1872, p. 290). Cavalcaselle and Morelli (*Catalogo delle Opere d'Arte nelle Marche e nell'Umbria*, p. 275) set it down without suggesting any author. Cavalcaselle with Crowe speaks of it again (iii. p. 278, note 2), but uncertainly, as a work of Pintoricchio's school.

† Cf. Urbini, *op. cit.* pp. 38-39; E. M. Phillips, *Pintoricchio*, p. 161.

round and heavy heads, the rigid forms, and the other characteristics which we have described, lead us to incline neither to the first nor to the last opinion, but rather to that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who see in it the work of a pupil. Let us note finally, that the *Archangel Michael* of Leipzig has been attributed, but very cautiously, to Pintoricchio himself.\*

We need not refer again to the modern stuffs on the walls, and to the pavement, restored by the help of the ancient fragments. The intarsia panels were made by order of Sixtus IV. for the old library on the ground floor. In the frieze, which has been repaired, we see the Borgia emblems alternating with various decorative motives, such as vases and medallions with the portrait of Alexander, cherubim, tripods, cuirasses, triremes, crosses, bells, *putti*, centaurs, the letters "A. VI.," &c. The decorations of the bays of the windows are original in the soffits of the arches, with their medallions and *putti*, and the Borgia arms, but of a later date at the sides. In the two pilasters supporting the great arch which divides the vaults, there are the remains of candelabra with many-coloured grotesques, in a deplorable state, furrowed with a thousand scratches, with names, for the most part German, and with seals and crests and dates from the sixteenth century onwards. Two doors open out of the room, one with elegant marble ornaments, the other unadorned, but surmounted by a disc or frame of gilded papier-mâché, in the midst of which is one of the most lovely Madonnas that Pintoricchio ever painted, akin to that of Sanseverino. She wears a mantle closed at the breast by a golden clasp, and holds the Infant upright on her knees, with His feet resting on a cushion. He has violet draperies with reflections of gold, and reads in a book that His Mother helps to support. They are surrounded by six heads of angels, still sweet and gracious in spite of all the injuries this exquisite work has undergone.

Was Vasari alluding to this Virgin when he said that Pintoricchio painted Giulia Farnese over the door of a room, in the form of Our Lady? Some are of that opinion. But in this case where is "the head of Alexander adoring her"? And if the Madonna really represents the fair friend of the Pope, how easy it must have been for the painter to portray a face which is one of the most usual types of Umbrian beauty, and particularly characteristic of his own art!

\* \* \*

The *Trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics) and *Quadrivium* (Astronomy, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Music), the foundation of learning in the Middle Ages, give the subjects for the decoration of the next room, known as that of the Liberal Arts (*Sala delle Arti Liberali*). This is not the place to discuss their scientific aspect; on their development in the field of art, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, there are various books, a hasty *resumé* of which would be of little use in a work dealing especially with the painter.†

\* Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 169; Phillips, p. 156.

† P. G. Meier, *Die sieben freien Künste des Mittelalters* (Einsiedeln, 1886-7); Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesen in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1885); Julius von Schlosser, *Giusto's Fresken in Padua, und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura in the Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xvii. (Vienna, 1896) pp. 13-19; E. F. Corpet, *Portrait des Arts libéraux d'après les Écrivains du Moyen-Âge*, in *Les Annales Archéologiques*, xviii. (Paris), &c. Schmarsow and Venturi have written at length on the subject, in reference to Pintoricchio's decorations, in works already quoted.



On the walls, in which are two very simple doors, some traces of the old paintings were found, and these have been completed. Here too are inscriptions which show that, soon after the time of the Borgias, these superb halls became the dwelling-place of people of low degree. The words: "*W. Paulus III. Pont. Max. e W. Farnesia proles*" were certainly cut by some member of the conclave in October 1534, when the palace rang with the election of Alexander Farnese. The ornamental divisions of the walls simulate rectangular or square niches, with seats below, and, at the back, intarsias with the Borgia coat of arms. The cornice with its stucco frieze is adorned with birds, shields, vases, rams, tiaras with the infula, Medusa heads, dolphins, books, scrolls, pateræ, *putti*, and, underneath, a moulding with heads of lions. Some pottery, among which are the remains of the old floor, is now exhibited in the room, and a chimney-piece superbly decorated with Lombard carvings.



ARITHMETIC  
S. II. P. III. ARITHMETIC BORGIA ROOMS

Under the great arch (decorated at a later date) which divides the vault, the pilasters are simply painted, and the fillings of the quadripartite ceiling have no figures or episodes, like those of the preceding rooms, but form decorative compartments, octagonal in the middle and polygonal in the smaller spaces, in which the Borgia arms in relief glitter in the midst of fruit and flowers, and, lower down, by the side of the candelabra flanked by *putti*, the ox and the five-rayed crown, multiplied incessantly in the lower triangles, impose their brilliance as the Borgias imposed their savage will.

Painted simulacra of the lateral lunettes are repeated, as in the Room of the Mysteries, on the wall opposite the window, where, in the simulated pendentive, Pintoricchio has had painted, by a pupil, three angels, supporting a garland with the coat of arms. Another garland with another coat of arms, in the midst of gilded ornaments, occupies the intrados of the window, the whole space above which is filled by a single composition, that of *Astronomy*.

The conjectures as to its author or authors are various. Schmarsow sees in it the manner of Pintoricchio and that of Perugino. It seems to us, from the formation of the youthful heads with long chins, and from the elaborate hook-like folds, that it

was worked on by the painter of the angels opposite, upholding the coat of arms, of part of the vault containing the episodes of Isis and Osiris, and of part of the *Music*. *Astronomy* (badly re-touched) is seated on a throne enriched with golden ornaments on a blue ground, with bulls on the upper part, and holds an astrolabe in her hand. Beside her are seated two *putti*, one with a star, the other with a half-moon on the end of a rod. Behind the throne is a wide landscape, rocky and wooded, with little figures of horsemen and pedestrians. Below, at the sides, in the foreground, stand two more *putti* and two groups of old men and youths with books, rods, an hour-glass, a stellar globe, &c. In these figures no one has attempted to find portraits; it has, however, been suggested that one of the old men may be meant for Ptolemy.

In the *Music*, we see the same hand in the four *putti* around the throne, and the whole group on the right: the old man seated, who strikes two hammers on one another, the two figures who stand looking at a sheet of music, and the youthful figure, seated on the steps of the throne, with her mouth half open, singing, holding a sheet of music in her right hand, and beating time on her knee with the left. All these clumsy and angular figures seem inferior to those on the left, and also to *Music* herself, although of the same type. *Music*, however, has a more graceful and regular face, hands a little thinner, more nervous, and more elegant, feet better drawn, and warmer flesh-tints.

Over her, as over the youth who plays a harp, and the other who looks at him singing, no more than the touch of the master's hand may have passed. But in the portrait of the guitar-player, not only the type, but the technique, is different, from the folds of the red tunic, to the hands and the long, smooth hair. These, and the method of obtaining relief with reddish tones on an almost white priming, causing too great an intensity of light, betray the hand which painted the figure of the youth to the right in the *Geometry*. Schmarsow, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, consider almost the whole lunette to be due to Perugino, or to one of his pupils, and Venturi agrees with the latter, more temperate, suggestion. Steinmann, however, sees on the left the hand of Bernardino!

This follower of Perugino, who must be looked upon as Bernardino's best assistant, undoubtedly painted the lateral groups in the *Rhetoric*. Schmarsow, however, again sees the hand of Perugino here, and tries to support his attribution by various analogies; while Venturi asks if they may not be referred to Gerino da Pistoia, whom Vasari describes as a friend of Pintoricchio, his collaborator in some paintings, and an imitator of the manner of Perugino. But our examination, at Florence and at Pistoia, of the few really authentic pictures signed by Gerino, seems to us to show an absolutely different execution and a different choice of types.

*Rhetoric*, seated on a throne identical with that of *Music*, with two *putti* below and two above (re-painted) who hold up a curtain, has a sword in one hand, and a globe in the other, and is certainly the best and most delicate figure of the lunette, by virtue both of her beauty of face, with its opaline and roseate colours, and the grandiose simplicity of her pose. But, taking this into account and noting the amplitude and the large straight folds of the dark blue mantle, we believe that it is not entirely by the assistant, but that at least the last touches were given to it by the master. In the two



Fragment from the «Dispute of St. Catherine» in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican





side groups, each of three figures, we cannot distinguish more than one portrait, thanks to the havoc caused by re-touches: a prelate, full face, with a purse in his hand, wearing an indigo gown and cap. The background is like all the others, rocks and trees, against a sky studded with gold.

Under this fresco is the name "Pintoricchio," but a careful artistic examination takes away its value as a signature.

It is curious to meet with the painter of the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* of the Room of the Mysteries in the background of the *Geometry*, which is very well preserved on the left, though patched and spoilt on the right. The same rough masses, like pirites, or natural crystals, the same small, minutely speckled trees! But the figures are not by the same hand, nor are they, in our opinion, by Pintoricchio. Some of them, including Euclid, seated on the steps of the throne, belong to the follower of Perugino who worked on the *Rhetoric*, the *Music*, &c. But not his is the youth with the light full



Antonson, photo.

DIALECTICS

SALA DELL'ARTE LIBERALE, BORGHESI ROOMS

on his face, whose head emerges from between two figures, and who resembles, in technique, the harp-player in the *Music*; not his is the principal figure of *Geometry*, seated on the throne with an instrument for measuring angles in her right hand, and a tablet with geometrical signs in the other; a strange figure, introducing an element not yet seen in the Borgia Rooms, with his faint carnations, and the serpentine entanglement of folds in his draperies. But, besides this, other "new" (and poorly modelled) faces are seen here, in the figure on the left near the throne, in the one who opens a scroll with Arabic numerals, and in the last one, with a carpenter's square in his hand.

In the figures of the *Arithmetic* and of Pythagoras, Venturi discovers new forms, different from any hitherto noted. Schmarsow, on the other hand, believes that this lunette is in great part the work of Pintoricchio; which, with the best will in the world, we cannot persuade ourselves. *Arithmetic* is seated on a throne with a red pyramidal baldaquin. Her pale face, tinged with rose, droops with a saint-like sweetness, and she holds the compass and the Pythagorean tables gently, as if they were the martyr's palm and book of prayers. At the sides are two groups of old men and youths, with instruments relating to the subject, much disfigured by

restorers, some heads being actually distorted. One portrait only seems to stand out on the left, that of a fair-haired young man, in red, with a book in his clasped hands, and a gold necklace about his neck. Both the landscape with its shapeless rocks, and the outlines of the rather flat noses, and of the mouths, straight as a cut, recall the *Epiphany*, in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, attributed to Pintoricchio, though more in the manner of Perugino, to whom it owes several figures.

The very elaborate triple arch which fills the background of the *Dialectics* is undoubtedly by the painter of the background of the *Adoration of the Magi* and of the *Annunciation*, while the figures on the left, the only ones remaining from the original fresco, representing two young men with red cloaks with a white-bearded, white-robed old man between them (supposed to be Aristotle) who holds an open book, seem to belong to the Tuscan who painted the *cortège* of the Magi in the Room of the Mysteries. All the rest of the painting belongs to a restorer, including the bull going up to a vase, which is not old, as some have imagined, but of a race very much more modern than that of the Borgias!

The last lunette which remains for our notice is also the last in artistic merit. It represents *Grammar*, between seven students and a child; and, although damaged and in great part re-painted, betrays the poor and wretched draughtsmanship of the painter of the Prophets and Apostles in the Room of the Creed, and of a fresco in the Terni Library, taken from the Chiesa delle Grazie in that city.\*

*Grammar* sits on a throne with a tripartite back; on the base is seated an old man, stroking his beard. He is supposed to be Priscian, in which case he has fared even worse at the hands of the painter than at the hands of Dante!

\* \* \*

In the Rooms of the Creed and of the Sibyls (*Sala del Credo* and *delle Sibille*), which form part of the Borgia Tower, Bernardino is seen only as a directing influence. Everything conforms to his decorative principles, but his hand is nowhere to be recognised. In the Room of the Creed, the repainted walls have candelabra and friezes and grotesques, and the Papal arms, which are repeated on the soffits of the window-arches. In the cornice, painted in bright colours, simulated corbels in sharp perspective are introduced. The brackets of the pendentives, in relief, are, however, very elegant, and preserve traces of their original gilding. Along the ribs of the vault run fillets with the Greek key-pattern that develop in the centre into circles and squares, and recall the decorations of the Belvedere. In the complementary spaces runs a rich polychrome fillet, in the midst of which on a blue background are grotesques in monochrome almost entirely repainted. The motives are caryatides, harpies, griffins, *putti*, birds, the Borgia ox, the five-rayed crown, and (in one) the date 1493. Inside the circles there is only the Borgia device, and in the central one the inscription, "*Alexander Borgia, P.P. VI. fundavit.*"

In each lunette, with its yellow border and many-coloured ornaments, are the half-length figures of a Prophet and of an Apostle; according to a mediæval legend, the

\* It is a lunette, detached from the wall, representing the Madonna and Child between S. Bernardino and S. Francis of Assisi.





Fragment from the «Dispute of St. Catherine» in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican



Creed was composed by the Apostles before they separated to preach the Gospel throughout the world, each writing one article, so to each is attributed his own verse,\* which is inscribed on broad fluttering streamers. In the poverty of colour and drawing in the faces and hands, with their bright crystalline tones, almost without relief, we recognise, as we have said, the manner of the painter of the *Grammar*, whom we also recognise in the lunettes of the Room of the Sibyls, where the Sibyls, as here the Prophets, are coupled with Apostles. Messrs. Ehrle and Stevenson, who have a great deal to say on "prophetic" matters, speak of three texts; they find that Pintoricchio adopted the third, that is to say the text that enumerates, not one Sibyl or two or three, but ten, assigning to each special prophecies, relating to Christian dogmas, and not to historical or political matters. "Our painter in his choice of the Sibyls and of their pronouncements followed certain popular booklets, in which the form and costume of each is described, and their oracles are cited, accompanied by an analogous passage from one of the Prophets, or from the New Testament. Pintoricchio did not invent, but copied directly from these books his figures, and the legends on his banderoles."†

In the centre of the fillings, between the Borgian arms and the ornaments, are garlands, surrounding other scenes from Egyptian mythology, glorifying the ox.

In each pendentive is inserted a rhomboid, with crowded scenes representing terrestrial actions under various astrological influences. In the sky are the cars of Saturn, Venus, Mercury, Jove, Diana, and Apollo, drawn respectively by dragons, bulls, stags, eagles, dolphins, and two or three horses. In another rhomboid is an armillary sphere, the sign of Astrology.

The signs of the Zodiac appear between the clouds, and below, human activity is



*Anderson, photo.*

GRAMMAR

SALA DELLA ARTI LIBERALI, BORGHIA ROOMS

\* Ehrle and Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 72. Guillelmo Duranti, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (Venice, 1568), fol. 87 back.

† *Op. cit.* p. 73. The notes contain valuable bibliographical information on the subject, to which we may add: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Perugia, 1767), pp. 114-150.



governed by their influences. Saturn with his sickle protects works of mercy and justice and agriculture, over which he had presided since Janus received him in Latium. Venus with Cupid, in the act of shooting an arrow, is gazed upon by various pairs of lovers; but Mercury, protecting men who are studying, assumes but one of the functions the ancients attributed to him. Under Jove are seen hunters, with hounds and falcons; and, under the Moon, fishermen. Warriors fight under Mars, and in Apollo are seen in placid converse the chief dignitaries of the world: Pope, Emperor, King, Cardinals, Princes, captains in armour, rulers. Finally, under the astrolabe stand geomancers and wise men, searchers of the firmament. "It is the treatise *De Sphæra*, revealed in the Renaissance, the pages open on the walls of the Borgia Rooms."\*

In deciding upon the painter of these crowded and vivid compositions, often so coarse in execution, and above all so greatly injured by time and restorers, the critics are again hopelessly divided. The first name suggested was that of Bonfigli,† because Vasari writes: "Benedetto Buonfiglio, a Perugian painter, though much older than he, was his companion and friend; and worked much in Rome in the palace of the Pope, with other masters."‡ Others attribute them to Mantegna, for the same reason, because he worked in the Vatican! Then Schmarsow recognises the manner of the painter, a Siennese according to him, who painted the *Prophets* in the Room of the Mysteries; and since, in spite of a certain artistic affinity, it is impossible to suppose, with Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that they are due to Baldassarre Peruzzi, then only thirteen, he puts forward as the name of his master, Pier d'Andrea da Volterra, because Vasari relates that Peruzzi, having painted an oratory in Volterra, went to Rome with a painter of that place named Piero, "who worked for Alexander VI. in the palace."§ Venturi is of opinion that we have here a master very much akin to Pintoricchio, and that, in some of the small paintings, if it were possible to see them "through the veil of the restorers, we should find the sweet and gracious Pintoricchio himself, with his backgrounds copied from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, that is to say, with little blue hills sloping to the plains, behind slender trunks of trees that rise into the whiteness of the sky." Steinmann accepts the opinion of Schmarsow, and traces the Siennese influence, while Boyer d'Agen goes back gaily to Bonfigli.|| It seems to us that the hand of Pintoricchio is to be seen neither in the figures nor in the landscapes. Whether Piero Volterrano might have painted them or not we cannot say, as we have no knowledge of his work. It is, however, certain, that the painter follows Umbrian forms and often copies Perugino, as may be seen in the figures below the *Astrology* and *Jove*, especially the latter, among which is reproduced, falcon in hand, the effeminate figure of a youth in profile, his right hand on his hip, his left raised; he often appears elsewhere holding a vase, a motive first invented by Perugino, and afterwards repeated by him and by several of his pupils.¶

Vasari tells us also that in his youth Pietro Torrigiani executed for Alexander VI. in the Borgia Tower "many works in stucco in company with other masters."\*\*

\* Venturi, *Le Aule dei Borgia*, cit.

† Taja, *op. cit.* p. 93, and Chataud, ii. p. 90.

‡ iii. p. 505.

§ iv. p. 590.

|| *Op. cit.* p. xlviii.

¶ Perugino repeats it in the *Epiphany* of Città della Pieve and in that of Trevi. It is imitated by Eusebio di San Giorgio (Perugia Gallery), and by other Umbrians in pictures of the *Adoration of the Magi*. We may instance one in the Museo Civico at Verona (an almost slavish copy of the principal figure of the *Epiphany* at Città della Pieve, attributed to Raphael), one in the Pitti Gallery (attributed to Pintoricchio), one formerly in the Torrigiani Collection at Florence (a *cassone*-picture, now sold, also attributed to Pintoricchio), &c.

\*\* iv. p. 260.

The most elegant part of the vault is the rectangle containing numerous circular coffers, bound together by a green fillet with reliefs in gold on a blue background, among polychrome borders and embossed ovals. In the centre, as usual, shines the Borgia coat of arms with its five-rayed crown, repeated on the soffit of the



Anderson, photo.

SALA DEL CREDO

BORGIA ROOMS 1778-15

window-arch. On the vault are the initials A. P. M. VI. (Alexander Pontifex Maximus VI.) and the date 1494.

Adjoining the Borgia Rooms (though now cut off from them by a wall) are two other rooms, at present the apartments of the *Guardie Nobili*. The coffered ceilings are rich with gilded ornaments in relief, on a red and blue ground, and with the device of Alexander, but have no paintings.

Such are the Borgia Rooms, which, even now, after the eclipse of colours and of gold, due to the carelessness of so many centuries, remain the wonder of lovers of art, for their richness and for their splendour. Considering the enormous amount of work, and the brief space of time in which it was done, the reader will realise how great a number of artists Pintoricchio was bound to call to his assistance; and, if he considers the matter, will see that the attempt of criticism to distinguish, in the different

rooms and frescoes, the hand of so many different craftsmen, is a task of considerable delicacy and difficulty.

Alexander VI. hurried on the completion of the work, even allowing Bernardino to break his contract with the wardens of Orvieto Cathedral. He was anxious to occupy this suite of rooms, which he had chosen for his own use, and which he was extending by the erection of the Borgia Tower. On the other hand, he wished everything to be



*Pintoricchio, fresco.*

"DANIEL AND THE ERYTHREAN SIBYL" —SCHOOL OF PINTORICCHIO

SALA DELLE SIBILLE, BORGIA ROOMS

worthy of the Papal grandeur, and of his own dreams of pomp, his Spanish love of show; and he must certainly have delighted in the surprise of Charles VIII., who, on January 16, 1495, saw the rooms, and dined there, immediately after their opening, and declared them such as he had never seen in palace or castle.\*

He must have regretted that the marriage of Lucrezia with Giovanni Sforza could not take place there, but was celebrated in another apartment, built by another Pope, in the hall or loggia of the Belvedere, the vaults of which were painted by Pintoricchio for Innocent VIII. This was elegant and sumptuous indeed, but had none of the splendour which he exacted in his own. There the banquets were held, gifts were shown, balls and performances took place.†

Meanwhile the rooms went on, and were finished in two years; but when Alexander moved into them, he was weighed down by various occurrences; especially by the presence of Charles VIII. in Italy, a misfortune due to the ambition of three persons, Charles himself, Lodovico il Moro, and Giuliano della Rovere. And if sometimes

\* Burchard, ii. p. 221, describing the visit and banquet, says that Charles "*ascendit ad palatium, ad cameras novas.*" See the passage of La Pilorgerie in H. F. Delaborde, *L'Expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie* (Paris, 1888), p. 519.

† Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, pp. 57-59; Muntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, p. 250.





Music (Fragment) in the Borgia Rooms in the Vatican



these rooms, with their manifold artistic splendours, were able to rejoice his spirit, they must have resounded with his wrath when he heard of the horrible death of his son Giovanni, killed by his brother Cesare; when the savage invectives of Savonarola reached his ear, and he pronounced sentence of death against all who opposed the aggrandisement of his family; they must have trembled at his death-rattle, when, poisoned perhaps and dying, he "measured in his heart the abyss that was to swallow up his evil house."

Some think that in February 1500, Caterina Sforza, the prisoner of war of Cesare, was imprisoned in the rooms of the tower. But this is improbable; she may indeed have been able, in the days of her captivity, to look at Pintoricchio's paintings, but in the Belvedere, where she was held, more securely than by her guard of twenty soldiers, by the cupidity of Duke Valentino.\*

\* P. D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (Imola, 1893), i. p. 245, English translation (London, 1898), p. 340.



## CHAPTER VII

### PINTORICCHIO'S RETURN TO UMBRIA

WORKS BY PUPILS—THE PICTURE IN THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY SPEAR—OTHER WORKS IN THE VATICAN—THE *LIFE OF ALEXANDER VI.* IN THE CASTLE OF S. ANGELO—THE ALTAR-PIECE OF SANTA MARIA DEI FOSSI AT PERUGIA—THE EROLI CHAPEL IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SPOLETO—PICTURES OF THE UMBRIAN PERIOD—THE BAGLIONI CHAPEL AT SPELLO—THE *CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN* AT LA FRATTA

AS soon as the decoration of the Borgia Rooms was completed, all the artists who had been engaged upon them dispersed like a flock of birds in different directions; the one returned to his own district and to his accustomed tasks; the other sought further employment in Rome; some remained with Pintoricchio, who had no lack of commissions. To us it seems evident that these pupils or assistants were the authors of certain paintings in the churches of Rome and its environs, the Pintoricchiesque character of which has caused them to be unhesitatingly ascribed to the master, to whose manner they show strong affinities, for the reason that those who executed them were fresh from his influence. A case in point is the *Invention of the Cross* in the apse of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, as we may judge in spite of the repainting carried out in 1746, when Benedict XIV. restored the whole church, and caused it to be decorated with "vast liberality (*ingente liberalità*)."<sup>\*</sup> This fresco seems to us to be, at least in part, the work of Bernardino Fungai; it contains repetitions of figures in pictures undoubtedly by his hand at Siena, in the Fonte Giusta, the Servite monastery, and the Accademia; while the groups of *putti*, imitated from Melozzo, the type of the youthful draped angels, the length of the figures, and the minute treatment of the buildings and landscape, correspond with like peculiarities in the pictures.

The Perugian painter, to whom we owe many noble passages in the decoration of the Borgia Rooms (such, for instance, as the *Rhetoric*, the *Geometry*, the *Three Demon Women*, &c.), seems to us responsible for the fresco in the Church of S. Cosimato, to the left of the high altar, with the Virgin and Child on clouds studded with seraphim, between S. Francis of Assisi and S. Clara, who holds up the pyx in both her hands with a gesture precisely similar to that with which one of the temptresses of S. Anthony holds up the precious casket. The hand that painted the Redeemer and the cherubim

<sup>\*</sup> Vermiglioli, pp. 65, 66. Nibby, *Roma nel 1838*, Modern part, vol. i. p. 200. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. pp. 270, 385, 386, &c.

in the lunette of the *Resurrection* in the Sala dei Misteri may, we think, be recognised in the frescoes of the third chapel on the left in the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio,



*Altarpiece of Santa Maria della Fiume.*

ALTARPIECE OF SANTA MARIA DELLA FIUME

*Altarpiece of Santa Maria della Fiume.*

by such characteristics as the types of the Eternal Father and the seraphim, the heavy fall of the parallel folds in the draperies, the rounded ears of the small heads, and the masses of straight hair held closely in place, without any curls or free unruly locks.

Moreover, it is certain that the forms in this work are derived more especially from Perugino. The Madonna with the Babe, seated on the step of the throne, which is occupied by S. Anna, differs very slightly from the same group as treated by Perugino

in the picture now in the Marseilles Gallery, and even less from the drawing by him in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle.

Another pupil of Pintoricchio's, a gentle, timid soul, adapted his master's *Madonna* at Valencia with almost grotesque simplicity to the lunette above the tomb of Cardinal Giovanni Sacco, a monument of 1505, with a recumbent figure and ornament of a light and graceful type. The Babe is practically identical with that of Pintoricchio's work. The Madonna is, however, seated, and, with her hand slightly uplifted, she holds the book almost in front of her. But the delicate bowed head and the mantle with its border is so exactly similar \* that the pupil may have made use of Pintoricchio's drawing.

Titi and others nevertheless attribute a portion of the paintings in the apse of the church to Pintoricchio, especially those of the semi-dome,† but Vasari was perfectly correct in assigning them to Baldassare Peruzzi.‡

The frescoes in the Oratory of San Giovanni at Tivoli, which some critics have ascribed to Pintoricchio, are certainly the work of a disciple. In the vault they represent the Redeemer, against a blue background studded with stars, between the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the Church; on the walls, the *Birth* and *Assumption* of the Virgin.§

\* \* \*

Certain old historians relate, prefacing their statement with the remark that "they have no need to combat any contradiction, the matter being an authenticated fact by general consent," that Mahomet II., when he took Constantinople, forced the Christians by the most severe edicts "to give up those noble and most holy relics which were preserved in that unhappy city."||

To come to the point, it appears that among other things they handed over the Holy Lance or Spear with which Christ's side was pierced on Calvary; and Bajazet, by the hands of the embassy we have already mentioned, despatched to conciliate Innocent, with the idea of inducing him not to promote so many leagues among Christians, and above all not to let Djem escape, sent the Holy Spear to the Pope as a gift, together, of course, with gifts of more material value!

Two prelates proceeded to Ancona to receive it with due solemnity; and immediately afterwards, on May 22, 1492, two Cardinals set out to meet them at Narni. The relic was brought into Rome on the last day of this month; and the Pope, followed by the Sacred College, the Bishops, the nobility, and a vast crowd, received it outside the Porta Flaminia, or Porta del Popolo, and himself carried it over the long road leading to S. Peter's, whence, after a great function, it was taken to the Vatican.

Innocent VIII. proposed to make a "worthy shrine" to enclose the relic; succumbing to a mortal malady, he died on July 25, after exhorting his nephew, Cardinal Lorenzo Cybo, and Antoniotto Pallavicino, to carry out his wishes with the utmost magnificence and splendour. The chapel and the costly shrine were finished in 1495.

\* Steinmann, p. 89.

† *Descrizione delle Pitture di . . . Roma*, p. 30.

‡ Vasari, vol. iv. p. 591. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. pp. 385, 386. Morelli, vol. iii. p. 65. Federico Hermanin, *Alcune Pitture giovanili di Baldassare Peruzzi a Roma*, in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte*, ix. (Rome, 1896), p. 321 *et seq.*

§ Magni, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, ii. p. 538.

|| Antonio Martinetti and Raffaele Sidone, *Della Sacrosanta Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome, 1750), vol. i. pp. 35-42. Panvinio, *op. cit.* p. 249, and in the *Spicilegium romanum* of Angelo Mai (Rome, 1839-44) x. p. 371.



but the relic was not installed till January 1500.\* It is not, therefore, possible to include Pintoricchio's picture, as some have done, under the guidance of Vasari, among works executed by him during the pontificate of Innocent VIII.; it must be assigned to the first years of the pontificate of Alexander VI. Vasari says it represented the "Madonna, larger than life,"† but a drawing in the Barberini collection, by the Roman archæologist, Giacomo Grimaldi, which Muntz has published, shows, that in addition to the figures of the Virgin and Child, the master also introduced the kneeling figure of the Pope. Some fragments of the shrine, demolished in 1606, are preserved in the Vatican; but nothing is known as to the fate of Pintoricchio's picture.‡

It is supposed that besides the panel of the Holy Spear, and the pictures formerly in the Church of San Francesco at Siena, of which we shall speak in due course, certain other pictures by Pintoricchio have perished or disappeared.

This is possible; but taking into account the eccentricity of many of the attributions we are able to verify, it is impossible to feel sure that these missing works were actually by his hand. We hear, for instance, of an *Adoration of the Magi* "on canvas," which latter assertion alone is enough to cast doubts on the statement.§ Magherini-Graziani mentions a *Circumcision*,|| Magni and Vermiglioli enumerate a whole series of pictures which it would be hopeless to seek for as the authentic works of Bernardino, while, on the other hand, the task of purification, so to speak, entails the rejection of examples in a great number of galleries. Passing over many of these, we must mention as works to be unhesitatingly expunged from a list of the master's productions the *Epiphany* in the Pitti Palace at Florence, the work of a bland disciple of Perugino, the *cassone* panels in the Madrid Gallery,¶ the London National Gallery, &c.,\*\* the round picture formerly ascribed to him, but now exhibited in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan under the name of its true author, Raffaellino Capponi,†† who was also perhaps the painter of the *tondo* in the Collegiata of S. Giovanni Battista in Cantiano in the Marches. The feeble *S. Michael* in the Leipzig Museum‡‡ is another work not to be laid to the charge of Pintoricchio. It belongs, as we have seen, to the painter of the *Epiphany* and the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Church of San Girolamo near Spello, and the legend of Argus in the Borgia Rooms. Nor can we accept the picture in the Cologne Museum of S. Jerome in his study, seated at a lectern beneath a window with his lion beside him and two monks, a coarsely painted panel in very bad condition, to which Thode gave the undeserved honour of an ascription to Pintoricchio;§§ nor the

\* *Bullarium Basilicæ Vaticanæ* (Rome, 1747). Filippo Lorenzo Dionisi, *Sacrarum Vaticanæ Basilicæ cryptarum monumenta* (Rome, 1773), p. 29 et seq. Forcella, *op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 106. † Vol. iii. p. 498.

‡ E. Muntz, *Il Ciborio della Santa Lancia*, in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, iv. (Rome 1892) pp. 365-367. *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, pp. 85-89.

§ Padre Rossi, as quoted by Giulio Urbini, *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello* in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, ix. (Rome, 1897), p. 21.

|| *Op. cit.* p. 177-178: "For a church of San Sepolcro Pintoricchio painted a panel of the *Circumcision*, which, after having been for a long time in the house of the Graziani at Città di Castello, was sold not many years ago at Florence, for a small price, being greatly damaged."

¶ Don Petro di Madrazo, *Catalogo de los Quadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid* (1899, nos. 573, 574). Frizzoni, *I Capolavori del Prado*, p. 182, note.

\*\* Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1891) p. 271.

†† G. B. Vittadini, *Novità artistiche del Poldi-Pezzoli*, in the *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, viii. (Rome, 1895) p. 199.

‡‡ Berenson, *op. cit.* p. 169.

§§ *Pitture di Maestri italiani nelle Gallerie minori di Germania* in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte*, ii. (Rome, 1889) p. 52.

Madonna with the Babe writing, between SS. John Baptist and Gregory, paraded at the Louvre as his work, in spite of the wretched meagre forms, and a Babe with thin, shrunken legs like those of Matteo Balducci's *putti*;\* nor the Virgin between the prophet Isaiah and S. John in the sacristy of the Sacro Speco near Subiaco.† But enough of this, for if we attempted to point out all the fantastic and erroneous attributions that have been made in this connection we should waste much time and space!

\* \* \*

One of the first matters to which Alexander VI. turned his attention on ascending the papal throne, conjointly with and immediately after the construction of his tower in the Vatican, and the decorations of his apartments, was the fortification and enlargement of the Castle of S. Angelo, a stronghold which current events in Italy and the constant dangers that threatened Rome warned her rulers to keep in good order, a warning sharply brought home to this very pontiff by the descent of Charles VIII. of France, and still more severely impressed upon Clement VII. by the furious sack of 1527.‡

Gregorovius states that "the explosion of the powder magazine in 1497 destroyed the upper chambers, but they were afterwards restored, and painted by Pintoricchio." Now this statement is partially contradicted by documents already cited, from which we learn that at the date in question Pintoricchio had already done a good deal of work in the Castle. The powder magazine exploded on October 29, 1497, having been struck by lightning, and set on fire. Now we find from a rescript, dated nearly two years earlier than this (December 1, 1495), that the Papal Chamberlain, Cardinal Raffaele della Rovere, assigned the two farms at Chiusi to our painter, as a recompense for the paintings executed by him in the Vatican and in the Castle of S. Angelo: *ex tuo artificio picturarum per te in Arce S. Angeli ac in palatio apostolico factarum*; and further, we learn from a letter of the said Cardinal's, dated July 28, 1497, and from one of the Pope's of October 24 (both anterior to the explosion), that the tax on the lands granted to him was remitted, in consideration of his labours in the Vatican and in the Castle of S. Angelo: *ex suo artificio picturarum in palatio nostro Apostolico et etiam in restaurata arce Castri nostri Angeli*. It is evident, therefore, that the works in the Castle had been for the most part executed, if they were not entirely finished. Nevertheless, the great explosion must have done extensive damage, necessitating the hasty return of the painter and a resumption of his labours. On February 5 of the following year (the time required for the restorations and the strengthening of the injured portions having barely

\* G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, *Le Musée National du Louvre* (Paris, no date, but about 1895), p. 83. Berenson, p. 169, &c. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. iii. p. 298) seem undecided as to the ascription, but Steinmann was, we believe, the first person who denied Pintoricchio's authorship of this picture, *op. cit.* p. 148. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have, however, very prudently cast doubts upon a good many other works at first too confidently asserted to be by the master (vol. iii. pp. 293-299, and vol. iv. p. 311).

† Magni, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, vol. ii. pp. 537-538. In *L'Arte* (i. p. 319), a little picture of Salome before Herod is mentioned belonging to the James Simon Collection, and exhibited at Berlin by the Historico-Artistic Society in 1898, but we have been unable to find any other indication, and cannot, therefore, give any opinion upon it.

‡ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma*, vol. vii. pp. 546, 772. Muntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, p. 209. Mariano Borgatti, *Castel S. Angelo in Roma* (Rome, 1890). P. D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. ii. p. 239 *et seq.* H. François Delaborde, *L'Expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie* (Paris, 1888), p. 512 *et seq.*

elapsed), we have another letter from the same Cardinal, who, by the Pope's command, granted further immunity from taxation to the painter for further works completed in the Castle of S. Angelo and the Vatican. And this was confirmed by another letter from the Pope himself, dated May 16, 1498.

It is probable that the new paintings executed in the Vatican were in "some rooms, which," according to Vasari, "looked into the courtyard of S. Peter's, the ceilings and the paintings of which were restored by Pius IV."\* Where the paintings in the Castle of S. Angelo were, has not been very clearly established. Two modern inquirers into the question assert, with Vasari † and Lione Pascoli, ‡ that they must have been in the great lower tower, at the head of the bridge of S. Angelo, built, we may fairly assume, by order of Alexander VI. No reproduction of the Castle of earlier date than his time shows it, while, on the other hand, it may be recognised in all such reproductions from the earliest years of the sixteenth century, as for instance in Aspertini's fresco in Santa Cecilia at Bologna (1506), in that of Sodoma, etc.

In many of these reproductions the coat of arms of the Borgias is distinctly visible in the middle of the great tower. This coat of arms was discovered during the excavations made for the construction of the Lungo Tevere, and the four fragments into which it was broken were put together again. But what seems to put the matter beyond all doubt is the medal of Alexander struck to commemorate these works. On this the great tower is more prominent than any other feature of the buildings. It was demolished by Urban VIII. to make way for various fortifications some time between 1624 and 1641.

The following are the conclusions arrived at by Borgatti § and concurred in by Luigi Borsari: "Taking into account the sumptuous construction of this tower, I feel convinced that it was the one mentioned by Vasari in connection with the paintings executed by Pintoricchio to illustrate the life of Pope Alexander VI., and containing the portraits of divers persons of that period. The tower is described as standing below the Castle. Now there are two majolica tiles belonging to the pavement . . . bearing the devices of the Borgias, on one the crown, on the other the bull. . . . In technique and period they correspond exactly with those in Alexander VI.'s apartments. Two engravings of the time of Paul III., showing views of the Castle and of the bridge, are noteworthy as records of the great tower, as is also a rare engraving by Lafrey, in which the great tower rises in giant bulk, displaying the frieze with its ornament of rams' heads and festoons, and the arms of Alexander VI. on the part facing the bridge."||

Vasari states that Pintoricchio "painted a great many rooms in the Castle of S. Angelo with grotesques; but in the lower tower that stands in the little garden, he painted the history of Pope Alexander, and portraits of Isabella the Catholic, Nicolò Orsino, Count of Pitigliano, Giangiacomo Triulzi, and many other relatives and friends of the said Pope, notably Cesare Borgia, his brother and his sisters, and many other worthies of the period." This statement seems to imply that the master painted not only in the great lower tower, but also in several rooms of the upper Castle. I have, however, made a most minute examination of the whole of the Mole of Hadrian, and have not

\* Vol. iii. p. 498.

† Vol. iii. p. 500.

‡ *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori ed Archiletti Perugini*, Rome 1732, p. 40.

§ *Op. cit.*

|| *Delle recenti Scoperte relative al ponte Elio e al Sepolchro di Adriano nelle Notizie degli Scavi* (Minutes of the R. Accademia dei Lincei, series iv. vol. x. (Rome, 1892), pp 412-428).



come upon a single stroke which could be ascribed to Pintoricchio's brush. In the so-called "oil-court" (*Cortile dell' Olio*), which is in the shape of a half-moon there is a frieze with foliage, *putti*, and animals, in black and white and in colours, but they are by a very different hand, and a good deal later than the time of Pintoricchio. The side, however, corresponding to Clement VII.'s baths contains paintings of still more recent date, so that we fail to understand how some persons can have maintained that some remnants of Pintoricchio's work still exist in the Castle. \*

But a document more important in its bearing on the history of these paintings than Vasari's brief and precious words is the enumeration of six of them by L. Behaim, preserved in a codex of the National Library at Munich, quoted by Gregorovius,† repeated by Schmarsow,‡ and after him by various other writers. The subjects were as follows: (1) Charles VIII. kneeling devoutly before Alexander, as the Pope passes from the Castle to the papal garden. (2) Charles takes the oath of obedience in the consistory. (3) Philip of Luxemburg, the king's cousin, and William of S. Malo, men of importance, are elected Cardinals, with the assent of the whole Consistory. (4) The Pope says a solemn mass at the high altar of S. Peter's, and washes his hands with the holy water that Charles pours out. (5) Alexander rides to the church of San Paolo with Charles walking at his stirrup. (6) Charles sets out for his expedition to Naples, accompanied by Cesare Borgia and by Djem, who had become his prisoner.

Thus Alexander VI. caused the humiliation of Charles and his own exaltation, to be painted in the very stronghold where he had prudently taken refuge, passing through a covered gallery, in his alarm at the acts of violence committed in the city by the French, who sacked even the palace of Vanozza herself, the "mother of his sons!"

\* \* \*

Pintoricchio finished the decorations of the Borgia Rooms towards the end of 1494, and the first series in the Castle of S. Angelo a year later. He afterwards restored these latter, painted some other rooms in the Castle, and worked again in the Vatican (perhaps in the rooms on the courtyard of S. Peter's) some time after October 1497.

What was the master doing in 1496 and the greater part of the following year?

History throws some light on this point. On February 13, 1496, he engaged with the monks of Santa Maria dei Fossi in Perugia to paint a large altar-piece; on March 15, 1496, he agreed to fresco two more figures in the Cathedral of Orvieto; and in 1497 he painted the Eroli Chapel in the Cathedral of Spoleto. We have already dealt with the paintings at Orvieto. Let us pass on to the others.

The deed of agreement between Pintoricchio and the monks of Santa Maria dei Fossi proves that on February 14, 1496 (common style), he was at Perugia, and that there he undertook to paint a large altar-picture, containing the "image of our glorious Lady with the Babe," in such manner as he should please, "seated, with suitable adornments, and on the right hand of this figure and picture . . . the figure of the glorious S. Augustine in his pontifical habit, and on the left side, the figure of S. Jerome in his cardinal's dress. In the central picture, above, the Pietà, with such adornments as may be suitable.

\* Phillips, p. 158. Destrée, p. 71.

† *Lucrezia Borgia*, p. 128.

‡ *Op. cit.* pp. 64, 65.



*Uffizi, photo*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

CENTRE OF THE ALTAR-PIECE OF SANTA MARIA DEI FOSSI, PERUGIA GALLERY





Above the two side figures, the Annunciation: Our Lady on one side and the Angel on the other. In the pediment at the top, the sending of the Holy Ghost at the Annunciation. In the predella shall be painted eighteen figures, that is to say in the first two bases, in one corner S. Baldus, in the other S. Bernard in the habit of the regular canons; in the two last bases, S. Joseph in the one and S. — in the other, and in the middle of the said predella, that is to say, in the centre of the picture, the Pope with four Cardinals in full vestments, and with five monks at their feet; on one side a Cardinal with a Bishop in full vestments, and likewise on the other side a monk and a lay-brother kneeling; and the whole shall be ornamented as shall be necessary with gold and colours, at the cost of the said Master Bernardino, as shall be also the fetching and bringing away of the picture, and its transport to the place where it is to be. Also he promises to paint in the empty space of the pictures, or backgrounds of the figures, landscape and atmosphere, and on all the other spaces colours, except the frame, where he must place the pictures, which is not included in this estimate." The price was fixed at 110 florins, 60 to be paid when the work was begun, and the rest on its completion. "And all this he undertakes to do in two years from the present date, commencing it at once, and finishing it without intermission."

Three other florins were added, that he might find himself rooms "fit for his purpose."\* We believe that Pintoricchio set to work at once, and also that he worked continuously at his task, save for the single interruption caused by a journey to Orvieto, where, with the help of Master Vincenzo, he painted in all haste the two figures he had engaged to execute in the Cathedral. Never did he carry out a task more lovingly than he did the great altar-piece for Santa Maria dei Fossi. He returned to his native city a famous artist, Court-painter to the Pope. He had never painted anything of importance at Perugia, and was anxious to show the full extent of his powers. Hence there is no trace of decorative haste and carelessness, no touch by the feeble hand of an assistant; the whole has the delicacy of a miniature, and all the Umbrian sweetness seems to have been born again in his soul on renewed contact with his divine birthplace.

The throne on which the Virgin is seated is decorated with ornaments in monochrome, almost invisible as seen from below, and a battle. On the curved back of the seat are a chariot drawn by serpents, with a young girl holding aloft a banner, women, baby-boys, and behind, a procession of horsemen and soldiers. Then, on the arms, the sides, and around the semi-dome, there are fantastic beasts, small vases, little cornucopias, and peacocks, each separate feather rendered as in a miniature. Beyond the throne stretches a wide expanse of landscape, a valley, mountains with castles, trees and crags, all treated with the same loving minuteness.

The Queen who is seated on this throne wears a blue mantle, the colour of which has faded. Not so that of the red robe with a gold border, and an exquisite jewel at the breast. She bows her head, the minutely rendered hair of which is treated with a delicacy never excelled by the master; mingling with it, a transparent veil tempers the golden tone of the carnations. With her left hand she offers a pomegranate to the Babe she supports upon her knee, laying the fingers of her right hand lightly upon His elbow. The carnations of the Child are rather paler; His face is enframed in softly clustering

\* Vermiglioli, Appendix, document ii. We have to thank Professor Moretti, Director of the Perugia Gallery, and Signor Angelo Lupatelli for valuable help in matters relating to Perugia.

curls, and the contours of His body are modelled with high lights of enchanting transparency. Round His loins is a drapery of striped stuff that is drawn up over His left shoulder and covers it. He turns to the little S. John, and with His right hand tries to take from him the long jewelled cross, a playful action that presages the mournful drama of His martyrdom. The S. John is less beautiful, his limbs being coarse and heavy; his sturdy legs, encased in embroidered buskins, his chubby hands, face, and neck are in marked contrast to the presentment of the little saint in the pictures, and above all, the sculpture of Tuscan artists, who endowed him with a precocious sense of penitence and holiness, expressed in delicate, refined, and fragile forms. On the ground at his feet lies a red book, and on the opposite side three apples and two nuts, one of which is broken, and shows the kernel with its lobes.

On either side of the arched upper part of this central panel is a square, painted respectively with the figures of the Angel, and of the Virgin to whom he bears the tidings of the Annunciation. Below these are arched panels, with the figures of S. Augustine and S. Jerome. Crowning the central panel is the *Pietà*, and, in the tympanum above it, the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. The whole of this corresponds exactly with the description given in the agreement, as does the decoration of the angles formed by the arches, that of the pilasters, the frieze, and the volutes on either side of the *Pietà*, whereas we shall see that the predella diverges widely therefrom.

The Angel, a half-length figure, is rendered, as usual, in profile, with long fair hair, the lily in his left hand, his right upraised in benediction, his lips parted, announcing the miracle. The Virgin, delicately featured and gracefully treated, but cold, stands in a niche with pilasters ornamented with candelabra, near a little window, through which the holy Dove enters. She holds in her left hand a little prayer-book, on which is a miniature of . . . the Annunciation! On the wall above her is a shelf with some other books, a flask, and a candlestick.

S. Jerome stands in the compartment below in a red robe with white lining and sleeves, against a dark background with gold arabesques. In his left hand he holds up a temple, the cupola of which is overlaid with golden scales, while the narthex is elaborately rendered, even to the quality of the different marbles. At his feet, on the luxuriant herbage which recalls that of Fiorenzo, lies the lion with the usual human face. The head of the saint, notwithstanding the white beard and hair, has an almost feminine sweetness, and is modelled in very light tones.

S. Augustine, whose face is as transparent as if it were illumined by an internal roseate radiance, wears a jewelled mitre, white robes and gloves, a cope fastened across the breast with a large jewel, and embroidered on the borders with figures of saints. With his right hand he holds his pastoral staff, and in his left a heart.

In the upper picture, two fair-haired Angels of exquisite beauty support the dead Christ on the edge of the tomb. A white drapery striped with gold is wound about His loins.

The central panel of the predella is missing, and the rest contains subjects different to those agreed upon in the contract. On the bases of the four pilasters, enclosed in garlands of fruit and foliage, are the four Evangelists, each with his symbol, and beneath the figures of S. Augustine and S. Jerome are two episodes of their history. First, a bay enclosed by wooded mountains, with a creek near a towered city, towards which

boats are sailing; on the left, hollow rugged crags, and tall, slender trees, touched with the russet and gold of autumn; in the foreground a stretch of shore on which the waves break in curving billows; near a tree, the child of the vision, kneeling on the ground, shows the hole he has scooped in the sand, and the spoon with which he proposes to exhaust the ocean, raising his eyes to the noble and stately figure of the saint, who holds up his hands in amazement. Then S. Jerome, in a white tunic, his breast and arms bare, kneels near a cave, at the mouth of which crouches the vigilant lion, holding the stone in his right hand, and gazing at the Crucified Saviour on the lofty crucifix, at the foot of which is the skull, and, lower down, the cardinal's hat, the pure red of which is the only strong note of colour in the picture. Beneath the crags of the background, a limpid river, which bathes the walls of a city, relieves the dark tones of the soil. The dark gradations of the sky become lighter over the more distant woods and mountains towards the horizon, enhancing the desolate effect of the foreground, with its dark shadows.\*



FRESCOS IN THE APSE OF THE EROLI CHAPEL  
CHURCH OF S. GIULIO

\* \* \*

\* In the Catalogue (already quoted) by Cavalcaselle and Morelli of works of art in the Marches and in Umbria (p. 285), there is an entry of a picture which was in 1861 in the Church of the Observant Minorites of Perugia, representing the Madonna enthroned, with SS. John Baptist, Jerome, Francis, &c. The following note is appended to the entry: "A good example of Pintoricchio, worth about 70,000 lire." This picture soon after passed into the Perugia Gallery, where it is now ascribed to Giovanni Spagna. But the two distinguished critics, or the editor of their Catalogue, must have made a mistake as regards the ascription to Pintoricchio. Morelli never mentions the picture in his other works, and Cavalcaselle notices it in his life of Perugino, *History of Painting*, vol. iii. p. 245. See Angelo Lupattelli, *Catalogo dei Quadri che si conservano nella Pinacoteca Vannucci* (Perugia, 1887, p. 34). Leoni Pascoli, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti perugini* (Rome, 1732), p. 40; Giuseppe Piacenza, in his additions to *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno* by Filippo Baldinucci (Turin, 1770), ii. p. 483, and others, mention as by Pintoricchio a S. Catherine with other figures formerly in the Church of that saint at Perugia, but the work, now in the Perugia Gallery, is by Bernardino di Mariotto.



On the completion of the altar-piece of Santa Maria dei Fossi, Pintoricchio went from Perugia to neighbouring Spoleto, to decorate the Eroli Chapel, the first to the right on entering the lofty and magnificent cathedral, which enshrines alike the precious frescoes of Filippo Lippi, and his mortal remains.

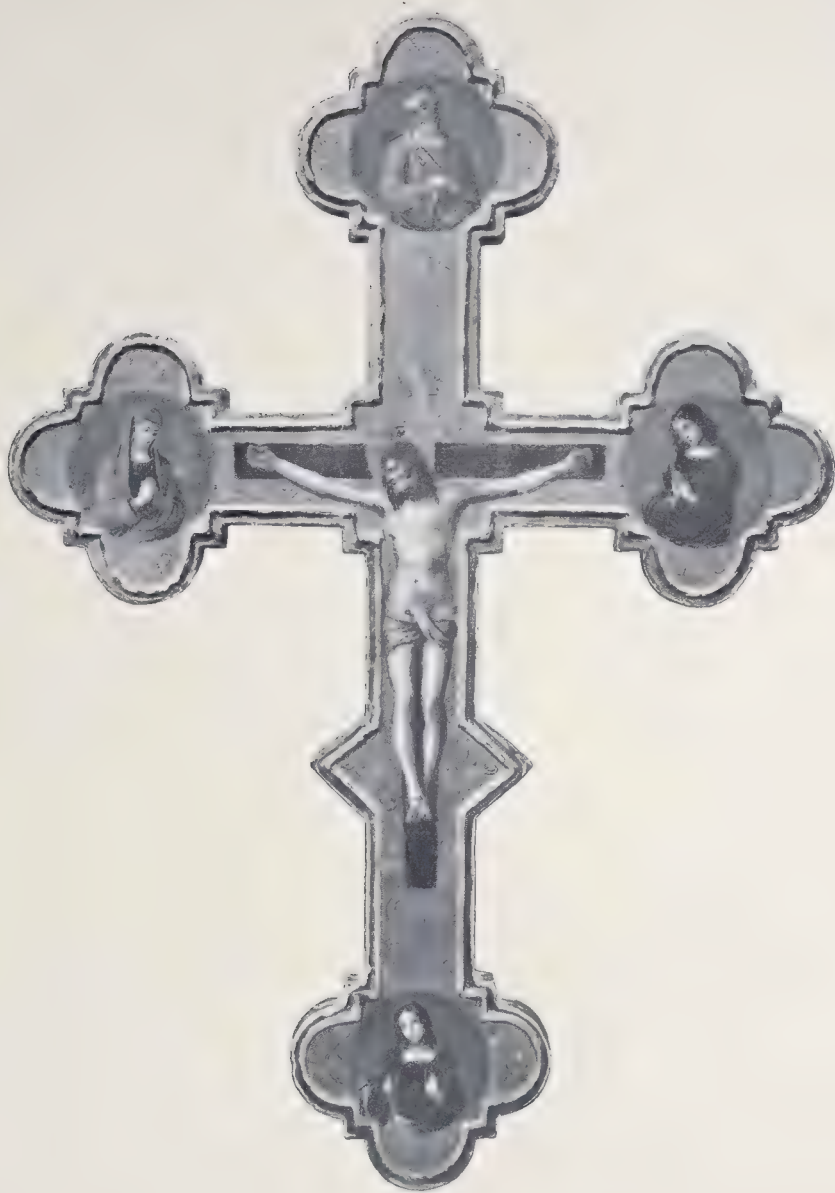
The chapel was reduced in size on the entrance side in the seventeenth century, but still retains its ancient niche to the left, two windows, the small pilasters decorated with a Pintoricchiesque herring-bone pattern, a fine frieze with a series of festoons, among which are ornaments of masks, bells, shields, books, shells, cherubs, vases, birds, syrinxes, bears, ox-heads, dragons, and cartels, on one of which is the date MCCCCLXXXIIIIX. (1497.) This frieze has all the elegance and variety of that in the Sala dei Santi of the Borgia Rooms. Opposite the entrance is the little coved apse, with the bearings of the Eroli (three ivy leaves and a fess), which are repeated in the centre of the old pavement, and on the door of the Baptistry, with the inscription: FRAN. HERV. EPI. SPO.

The lower fresco of the semi-dome, though in bad preservation and repainted in parts (especially in the background), seems to be an authentic work by Pintoricchio, and not only authentic, but delicate and carefully treated. The Madonna with the Child is seated between two trees. The trees are covered with retouches, and the blue of the Virgin's mantle has perished. The saints on either side, S. Stephen in a dalmatic, reading, and the austere figure of the Baptist, the lower part of which has almost disappeared, have suffered severely. The landscape, although in parts a wreck, retains fragments of ideal beauty and delicacy. Between the Virgin and S. Stephen, for instance, there is a view of a city with towers, temples, houses, a triumphal arch decorated with sculptures and surmounted by a graceful equestrian statuette, the device of Spoleto. Near this arch is S. Anthony in a pulpit, preaching to a crowd of little variegated figures, painted with the utmost spirit, rapidity, and facility, after the manner of those in the fresco of the end wall in the Bufalini Chapel in Ara Coeli. In front of this assembly a woman in blue with a black mantle leads a child by the hand, a group treated with the same swiftness of execution. On the opposite side, to the left of the Madonna, are the walls of a city, with a gate. The mountains with the usual crags, the trees, the sky and the horizon are all repainted or retouched. Behind S. Stephen is another group of little figures representing *The Flight into Egypt*; the Virgin and Child on the ass, and S. Joseph.

In the cove above, in the usual almond-shaped glory studded with seraphim, is the seated figure of the Eternal Father in a green robe and purple mantle. The severe head, with white hair and beard, is slightly faded and dirty, but in fair condition. At the sides are two Angels, their hands devoutly clasped in prayer; they have iridescent wings and heads full of grace and simplicity. The one in red and green draperies is fairly well preserved in parts; but of the other, scarcely more remains than the outline and the mask of the face, illumined, however, by two brilliant eyes. The neck and hands are covered with abrasions, the yellow tunic has perished. Two of the seraph-heads at the bottom are preserved, however.

On the altar-frontal, the figure of the dead Christ with bleeding wounds emerges from the tomb. The greenish colour shows it to have lost the final touching *a secco*. But what remains reveals a firm and skilful hand.

I have dwelt at some length on these paintings, which have been briefly mentioned



CRUCIFIX

*COLLECTION OF THE MARCHESE EMILIO VISCONTI VENOSTA, MILAN*



CRUCIFIX

*COLLECTION OF THE MARCHESE EMILIO VISCONTI VENOSTA, MILAN*



by various writers,\* but never, as far as I know, described in detail or photographed, because it is to be feared that their life will not be much prolonged, unless they are taken in hand by a physician both prudent and skilful.

\* \* \*

To this period of Pintoricchio's life we should assign certain pictures which have been incorrectly described as juvenile works. His return to Umbria seems to have coincided with a renewal of grace and delicacy in his work, almost as if he were making deliberate amends to himself for the rapid and tumultuous execution he had perforce adopted in the last of his works in the Borgia Rooms. Nature is so full of placid sweetness in that region that it lays its impress upon all that comes under its influence. There human activity is never hasty, but full of the desire for beauty. The very speech is soft and gentle as the art which is diffused in every direction like a perfume, over towns where the citizens raise glorious monuments, and in the country where the peasants train the branches of the trees and the briars of the hedges into forms of quiet grace and elegance. Here Pintoricchio felt the calm and beneficent influence of the world and the art around him, and gave himself up to the joy of working without pressure from others, and without the impetuosity so foreign to his temperament.

The altar-piece of Santa Maria dei Fossi and the frescoes at Spello are the two masterpieces of this interval. After this, his arduous and fatiguing labours claimed him once more, and he became the victim of those intimate sufferings and humiliations which left their traces on his art.

The figures of the altar-piece painted between 1496 and 1497 afford data from which we may recognise works executed by Pintoricchio at about this period, or before his establishment at Siena, not only in the predilection he shows for certain forms, but also in certain technical minutiae. No one, we think, could carefully consider the types of the Madonna, the Babe and the saints, the manner in which the stuffs, the hair, and the carnations are treated in the tempera, more delicate, fused and limpid now than before, without accepting as kindred works of the same period the crucifix and the round picture in the Marchese Emilio Visconti Venosta's collection at Milan, the *S. Bartholomew*, formerly belonging to the Borghese family, the *Madonnas* in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, in Lord Crawford's collection, in the collection of M. Michael Botkine at St. Petersburg, and in that of Prince Pio of Savoy at Mombello.

In the Marchese's picture the Virgin is seated in the centre against a panel of red material covered with checkers of gold embroidery, more delicately treated than those in the Contessa Spalletti's little picture, and with a border of arabesques resembling those in the Santa Maria dei Fossi altar-piece. She is slender of form, and vigorously coloured, and wears the usual red robe and blue mantle. With her long, slim hands she supports the Babe, Who stands upon her lap, His right hand raised in benediction, His left grasping the ribbon that flutters from the little S. John's cross. The infant Jesus is

\* Pietro Fontana, *Descrizione della Chiesa Metropolitana di Spoleto* (Spoleto, 1848). Achille Sansi, *Degli Edifici e Frammenti storici delle antiche età di Spoleto* (Foligno, 1869), p. 245. Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida* cit. p. 288. Lorenzo Sinibaldi, *Guida di Spoleto*, &c. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. p. 271. Berenson, p. 171. Phillips, pp. 105 and 162, &c.

draped in a diaphanous shirt that shows the outlines of His little body; His feet are encased in sandals, and round His neck He wears a string of black and coral beads, The little S. John, who holds up the gilded cross to show it to Him, wears a



Montalione, photo.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. JOHN  
MARCHESA EMILIO VISCONTI PINOTTI, MILAN

tunic of fur bound about the waist with a spray of ivy, and over his shoulders a red mantle, blown back by the wind. The two children are modelled with great accuracy in every hair and every feature, and are full of grace, but lack sentiment. The background is delightful. Mountains, slender trees, a palm, and the *Flight into Egypt* on the right, rocks, a fortified city with an episode of warfare, a horseman in flight, and another watering his horse at a spring.

The Marchese Visconti further owns a wooden crucifix painted on both sides, on a ground of gold and red, with trilobate extremities, in which are discs, each containing a half-length figure of a saint.

In the centre on each side is

the crucified Saviour, one figure more delicate and accurate in treatment than the other. The finer of the two is that between the roundels containing the Madonna, the youthful S. John with clasped hands, a fair-haired Magdalen with a vase, and S. Peter with a book and the key in his exquisitely modelled hands, little figures unsurpassed in grace and sweetness by any the master ever painted; the other, a less slender form, is surrounded by a S. Francis with a red beard, S. Clara, S. Louis of Toulouse with the lily, and S. Anthony of Padua with the flame on his right hand. The work is of small size, but its delicacy of form and execution make it a most precious possession.

The *S. Bartholomew* in tempera on panel, bought by Prince Marc Antonio Borghese in Rome in 1872, came from Umbria. It was exhibited in his gallery till 1891, when it was put up to auction by the dealers Chevallier, Jeral and Mannheim, and taken to Paris. The saint, a three-quarters length figure, is set against a green drapery, with gold arabesques of the kind affected by the master at this period. In his uplifted hands he holds a knife and an open book, over which he bends his carefully modelled head.\*

\* After the sale of this *S. Bartholomew*, no example of Pintoricchio remained in the Borghese Gallery. The crucified Saviour between SS. Christopher and Jerome is now, as we have said, recognised as the work of Fiorenzo. The two *cassone* panels with episodes from the story of Joseph have been deprived of their claim to rank among the master's works, and ascribed to a pupil (Morelli, *Della Pittura italiana*. Milan, 1897, p. 107). There is a conflict of opinion as to the so-called portrait of Perugino. Some say it is Perugino painted by Raphael, others that it is

He is the true artistic brother of the *S. Augustine*, seated, against a gilded background, with arabesques of the same kind in red and green, in the Perugia Gallery. This again



Gray, photo.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. JOHN  
FLORENCE, MUSEUM, CAMBES

is a work of much richness and precision. The saint wears a white mitre and white gloves adorned with precious stones, and a greenish cope with a red lining, the border

Pintoricchio by himself, and others again Perugino by himself, &c. It seems to us evident that Pintoricchio had nothing to say to it, either as painter or sitter. Marco Minghetti, *Raffaello* (Bologna, 1885), p. 49. Morelli, *op. cit.* p. 137. A. Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese* (Rome, 1893), p. 191. S. Frascchetti, *La Casa dell'Arte*, in the *Rivista d'Italia* of January 15, 1900 (year iii., vol. i. p. 103, &c.)



also studded with gems. He carries his pastoral staff and his book, and looks out at the spectator with a certain austerity and solemnity. Below, two members of the Augustinian confraternity, in white habits, kneel with clasped hands. Of a third, only the eyes, the forehead and the cowl appear. On the breast of one of the figures is worked a pastoral staff between two scourges, and this device is repeated on a shield on the ground in front of him; another shield on the opposite side bears a cross on a blue field, the vertical arms of which are red, and the horizontal ones, white.\*

The *Madonna* in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is also closely akin to that of the Santa Maria dei Fossi altar-piece. The little S. John and the Virgin differ but very slightly in the two, especially in their attitudes. The Infant Jesus, in the usual little gold-embroidered shirt, sits on His Mother's knee, reading. She holds the book for Him with her right hand, bending her head towards the little Baptist. In the background are rocks, trees with tall trunks, mountains, and a city, with various small figures of horsemen, pedestrians, dogs, etc.†

Lord Crawford's picture shows the same richness of detail and the same solicitude of execution that mark the other works of this period described above. Mary is seated on a curved balustrade, against the panel of a baldachin with a yellow design on a deep blue ground, of the same sort as that in the Capitoline *Madonna*. Her hands are long and slender, like those of the Marchese Venosta Visconti's *Madonna* and that of the altar-piece at Perugia. The face is inclined at the same angle, and has the same narrow chin. It seems not improbable that all three were painted from the same cartoon. The Babe's head, too, and His clothes are alike in Lord Crawford's picture and in the altar-piece. But it is unnecessary to insist further, for the most superficial comparison of the three works will suffice to show that they are of the same period, the date of which is determined by the Perugian altar-piece.

In the Crawford picture, the Virgin holds the Babe, Who is standing upon her lap, wrapped in a shawl striped with red, white, and yellow, and dressed in a little shirt. Turning His head, He holds on to her mantle with one hand, while with the other He seeks her bare bosom. Two youthful Angels, of the usual charming type, and with the usual expression of indifference to the scene before them, in light-coloured garments of different designs, with wide ribbons across their arms, stand on either side of the Virgin, one looking down, his hands crossed on his breast, the other with his beautiful dark eyes fixed on her, his hands folded. Behind and above them is a delicious landscape with trees, hills with winding roads, castles, and mountains showing an infinity of gradations in the light. Under a lofty crag on the left is S. Jerome, kneeling and beating his breast with a stone, his lion at his side. On the right, other figures ascend the sunny road on the hillside.

The little picture in M. Michael Botkine's collection at St. Petersburg is simpler in composition. The Madonna, her head inclined, as usual, to the left, draws the Babe, in a little white shirt and gold-embroidered drapery, to feed from her breast.

\* It was presented to the Perugia Academy by Cavaliere Silvestro Friggero Boldrini, who died in 1870. Lupattelli, *Catalogo*, pp. 35, 36. Vasari, vol. iii. p. 503 note. Another work to be noted in this gallery is the little votive picture of "Jacopa di Bandi Perigli," of 1492, painted by a pupil of Pintoricchio who had felt the influence of Bernardino di Mariotto, and full of grace, in spite of its inaccuracies. It represents the Madonna with the Child, two cherubs above, and the donor, a nun, below.

† My attention was drawn to this picture by Mr. B. Berenson.



VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

LORD CRAWFORD AND F. H. ARRES COLLECTION, WIGAN





The background of mountains and tall trees is here, as always, treated with the most loving elaboration; it is enlivened by the *cortège* of a Cardinal, followed by several warriors.\*

Lastly, we may note the precious little picture belonging to Prince Pio of Savoy, at his villa at Mombello, in the province of Como. The Virgin is seated in the midst of a verdant meadow starred with flowers, among which a rabbit and a swan appear in the foreground. She draws the Babe towards her with maternal solicitude, offering Him her uncovered breast. In the wooded background on the left the agitated figure of S. John Baptist is about to plunge into the thicket, but turns back to threaten with uplifted finger a band of horsemen and archers, the executioners of S. Sebastian, who is bound to the column of a triumphal arch, beyond which are seen a valley, a river and a city.



VIRGIN AND CHILD  
M. MICHAEL BOKKIN'S COLLECTION, S. PETERSBURG

These delicious works, which Pintoricchio executed in serene tranquillity of spirit, amidst the calm of his native Umbria, were worthily crowned by the frescoes of the Baglioni Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore at Spello.

\* \* \*

We cannot accept as the work of Pintoricchio certain frescoes at Spello that have been ascribed to him, as, for instance, the much-damaged one in the Oratory of S. Bernardino with the Madonna and the Babe between SS. Jerome and Bernardine, dated MDIII.,† nor, as we have already said, the *Epiphany* under the portico of S. Girolamo. Neither do we recognise his hand in the fresco of the *Eternal Father* in the vault of the Cappella delle Rose in the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Assisi.‡ The mandorla, studded with seraph-heads, is set in a blue sky which retains traces of gilded stars. In the centre is God the Father, holding the globe in His left hand and raising the right in the act of benediction. The pictorial character of the composition is certainly that of Pintoricchio's school, just as the figure is a favourite one in Umbrian art, but we do not see the master in the proportions of the figure, with its colossal head and very small feet, peculiarities the very reverse of the master's tendencies. The head again is badly modelled, and the beard is treated with a certain lack of decision. The folds of the draperies over the very short legs are huddled together ungracefully, and the foreshortening of the arms and thighs is incorrect.

\* *Les Tresors d'Art en Russie* (S. Petersburg, 1902), year ii, no. 2. This picture (which is very small) has been transferred from the panel to canvas. Information given by M. Alexandre Benois.

† The other paintings in the Oratory are of later date.

‡ Berenson, p. 169; Destrée, p. 72; Phillips, p. 157.

We must further exclude from the number of his works the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Catervo at Tolentino, the work of two Umbrian painters far behind Pintoricchio in style and grace. The arrangement of the vault is very ugly. The Evangelists and Sibyls emerge like preachers from clumsy pulpits wedged into the angles of the sectors. The lunette opposite the entrance, with the Virgin and Child between SS. Sebastian and Catervus, is better, and has a certain grandeur, though it is by the same hand; the two lateral lunettes with the *Epiphany* and the *Crucifixion* are less largely treated; they are faulty in drawing and show a diversity of handling.\* In the Palazzo del Municipio at Assisi, in which various detached frescoes have been stored, there is, however, a lunette, formerly on the city gate of San Giacomo, which, in spite of the ruin to which it is reduced, may well be ascribed to Pintoricchio. The Virgin is seated in a mandorla with the usual little heads, on the usual clouds, gazing with clasped hands at the Babe, Who lies on her lap with swaddling-bands about His loins and legs. In the background is a hilly landscape with trees, a town, and the usual crags, rather squarer than elsewhere. The Virgin's head is gentle and refined. Count Lemmo Rossi



*Reproduced from*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

PRINCE OF SALOTIN COLLECTION, MOURMELIO (1810)

Scotti, a learned student of the art of Pintoricchio, certain portions of whose decorations in the Borgia Rooms he modelled for the South Kensington Museum, informs me that on the base of a balcony in an old house near the Umbrian castle of Montepetriolo, in the parish of Gaiche, he found a Madonna seated in the same attitude, with clasped hands, looking at the Babe on her lap, in which he thought he could recognise the hand of Bernardino.

But even if we accept this little fresco as his, the fact remains that he executed no important works in fresco in the Marches and in Umbria, elsewhere than at Spoleto and Spello.

We have already spoken of Spello, and now we must linger here a little in the Church

\* Luigi Manzoni, *Opera del Pintoricchio poco note* (Bulletin of the Royal Deputation of National History for Umbria, vol. vii. Perugia, 1901, p. 63). Basilio Magni, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 537. The two lateral lunettes are in very bad condition, but they have not been recently repainted, like those at the end of the chapel, and of the vault.

of Santa Maria Maggiore, to admire one of the most delicate, characteristic and attractive of our artist's works, namely, the Chapel built and decorated by order of Troilo Baglioni, Prior of the Collegiate Church in 1500, and appointed Bishop of Perugia in the March of the following year.\*

The architectonic division of the surfaces here made by Pintoricchio is that formerly adopted by him for the decoration of the Ara Coeli and Santa Maria del Popolo chapels. In each angle he has painted pilasters (with fanciful candelabra in *grisaille* on a yellow ground with reddish shadows). These rest on a plinth (an addition necessary in order to bring the subjects painted between the pilasters up to the level of the eye), and support the arches from which the ribbed vault rises. On the plinth are the ghosts of rhombs and discs, within which were motives that have perished almost completely.

Above on the walls are three large frescoes: *The Annunciation*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, and *Jesus disputing with the Doctors of the Law*; in the fillings of the ribbed vault are four Sibyls.

I. The Virgin, a dignified figure standing in a spacious loggia, raises her left hand with a wondering gesture, resting her right on an open book that lies upon a magnificent lectern, the base of which is in the form of a candelabrum; in the desk on the upper part are a book, a parchment scroll, and an ink-horn which hangs over the edge. But all this is a good deal damaged. The head of the Virgin, however, in spite of a few retouches, has preserved its original grace. Facing her is the kneeling Angel; his variegated draperies have suffered somewhat, but his beautiful head and hands are in good condition. Above, in the clouds over the Angel's head, the Eternal Father appears in a glory of seraphim. A ray of golden light descends from Him to the Virgin, on which the Holy Dove hovers amidst bluish vapours. The pilasters of the portico are painted in purple tones and ornamented with rich candelabra (in one of which is a cartel with handles, inscribed MCCCCCI),† rather less skilfully executed, however, than those in the angles. On either side are the terminal walls of the portico. To the left we see a door and a round window; to the right a small window on the sill of which stands a vase decorated with a scutcheon, showing in the quarterings the arms of the Oddi and of the Pellini families; on the wall is a little shelf with some books, a flask, and a candlestick, and beneath it a square picture in a gold frame, the portrait of Pintoricchio himself, attested by his signature in full: BERNARDINVS PICTORICIVS PERVSINVS. This portrait, a perfectly authentic one, and consequently of the highest value, is unfortunately one of



VIRGIN AND CHILD

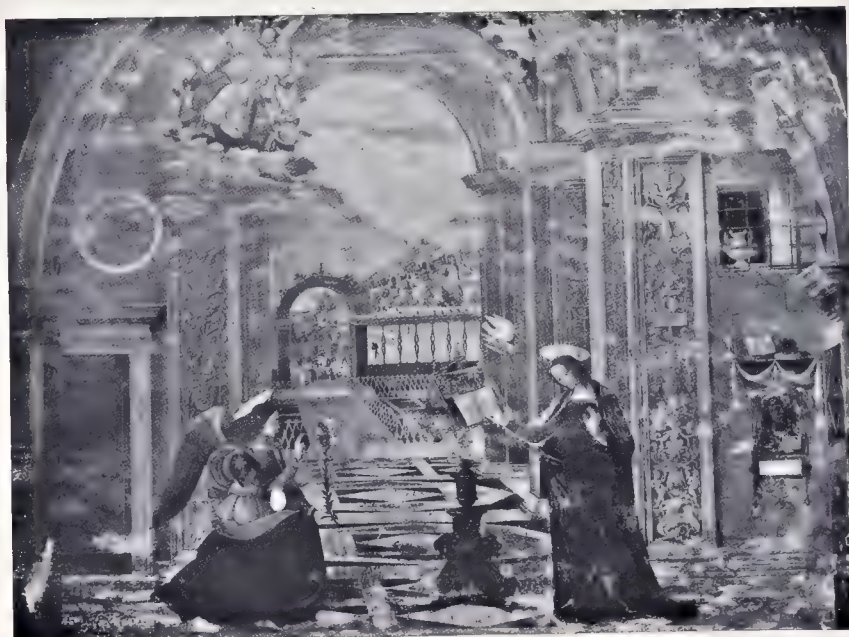
FRES. O UNDER A R. TICOVY, G. AICH, UMPRA

\* Vermiglioli, p. 88. A. H. Layard, *The Frescoes by Bernardo Pintoricchio in the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Spello*, published by the Arundel Society, 1858. Morelli, vol. iii. pp. 307. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. pp. 275 *et seq.* Giulio Urbini, *Di alcune Opere d'Arte nella Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore di Spello*, in *L'Arte e Storia* of Florence (year xlii., 1894, pp. 140-143), and *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello*, in *L'Archivio storico dell'Arte* (ix. p. 380). F. Calzini, *Recensione dello Studio dell' Urbini* in the *Bollettino della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* (Perugia, 1897), vol. iii. p. 412 *et seq.* *L'Arte* (Rome, 1898), i. 465. Steinmann, pp. 96-104. Phillips, pp. 100-105. Destée, pp. 74-76, &c.

† At the beginning of 1501, Pintoricchio was one of the Priors of the Magistrates of Perugia.



the portions of the fresco that has suffered most. The blue background and the dark dress and biretta are blistered with damp and much retouched. The right temple and the left eyebrow are deeply scarred, and there are smaller injuries on the right cheek and on the chin; but by great good fortune the essential features, eyes, nose, mouth and chin, still remain intact, to give us an idea of the master's physiognomy. His appearance agrees perfectly with our knowledge of his age at this period, which was forty-seven



*Alinari, photo.*

"THE ANNUNCIATION"

Fresco in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Spello

years. He has a good mouth, somewhat sad in expression, and a cleanly cut nose. From the cartel beneath the portrait hang strings of coral and gems, and a group of two brushes and a pencil. As usual, the master has treated the landscape with the utmost care. In the middle distance there is a little garden enclosed by a balustrade, its green flower-beds surrounded by a cane trellis. Beyond stretches the open mountainous country, with a little town projecting from the fertile slope of a mountain, Spello no doubt; a higher mountain in the distance would therefore be Subasio.

All these accessories are drawn and painted with the same care as the principal figures. Immediately outside the arch that opens from the garden is an inn, with the sign of the "Bell." Travellers arrive on foot and on horseback; others are already eating under the pergola, served by a waiter with his sleeves tucked up and a napkin thrown across his shoulder. Others, men, women, and a dog, stand around. One woman draws water

from a well; a little girl approaches it, carrying a jar on her head. Then on the road leading to Spello there is a beggar, seated at the edge of the ditch, a mountaineer driving an ass, a pilgrim, etc. A more important episode is that of the band of soldiers who approach the city, from which another group issues to give battle. The great gate (Portonaccio) appears in front, and further back the Consular Gate (Porta Consolare), embellished with columns and bas-reliefs. Near it, soldiers on the top of the wall repel the assailants. This may be the conflict between the Fulginati and the Spellani which took place in 1489 after a series of mutual offences, and was brought to an end by the intervention of Sixtus IV. and the Cardinal Legate of Siena,\* or, more probably, one of the many unsuccessful attacks made upon Spello by the Fulginati, and repelled by Morgante Baglioni in 1495.† Here and there in the lower part of the fresco, especially on the Angel's draperies, are scratched various German and Flemish names, nearly all with the addition of the date August 13, 1557. May they not have been the names of the foreign emissaries, who in the summer of that year travelled through Italy recruiting for Henry, Duke of Brunswick, and for Charles V.?

In the adjoining fresco, the *Adoration of the Magi and the Shepherds*, the Infant Jesus lies in the centre of the foreground on a linen drapery laid over a bundle of grass, a swaddling band across His legs, a string of beads round His neck, and behind His head a tall cross, and a kneeling angel, holding up a veil. Another angel gazes in adoration at the divine creature, near to the Madonna, who kneels in a similar attitude, her beautiful face with its opaque tones of rose and pale gold blending into harmony with the subdued tints of her fair hair. Roses bloom around them, and behind, gazing admiringly at the scene, stands a S. Joseph of the usual type, leaning on a knotted stick. The stable on the right occupies a considerable space; as usual, it is partly rustic and partly monumental, with carved pilasters, over one of which ivy is climbing, while a wild fig-tree grows against it. The ox and the ass stand humbly at the manger; a peacock displays the gorgeous colours of his plumage on the roof of the shed.‡

On the opposite side, four shepherds adore the Babe. The second, with his rugged and dishevelled head, has a coarseness of type that appears to have been imposed for the sake of artistic contrast, rather than to have been found in the model. The two others are wrecks. Above this group, is the procession of the three kings, which may be studied as a typical princely cavalcade of the Renaissance, with the rich costumes of the young men, the dog, the falcon, etc. It is full of beautiful details, though it contains too many merely conventional figures. Of the three kings, each of whom bears a golden vase in his hands, the one in the red mantle and turban, his back partly turned to the spectator, repeats the type of the Turk in the Borgia Rooms who is supposed to be Djem, but who seems to me to be simply an imaginary Levantine, like the Moor of this group, who is a Moor in colour only, his type being strictly European. The figure leaning against the white horse is languid and effeminate, but the two youths on horseback are delightful in their grace and beauty. Higher up again, on a road that winds among the crags, a band of horsemen in armour, with shields and lances, descend

\* Pellini, *Historia di Perugia*, vol. ii. p. 858.

† Matarazzo, *Cronaca*, already quoted, p. 41.

‡ There is a drawing by Pintoricchio in the Oxford collection, where it is ascribed to Raphael, of an angel, supporting the Infant Jesus on a pack-saddle, between the Virgin and S. Joseph. Behind S. Joseph are two shepherds, kneeling, one with a sheep across his shoulders; behind the Virgin is the stable.

towards the foreground. One, a foot soldier, has on his shield the famous device of the Baglioni, a gold bar on a blue field. Higher up again, two shepherds guard their flock; one is piping, the other gazes at the radiant star, and the angel who descends to announce the birth of the Messiah. Beyond the steep crags and the slope of a green hill, with trees flecked with gold, rise various rich buildings, towers, and temples, forming a town encircled by a canal, with the little figures of a fisherman, a beggar, muleteers, etc.

Lower down, on the near side of the canal, are other male figures near a camel, with a chest strapped on its side, ridden by a Moor; the beast is magnificently rendered, probably from a drawing from life. Further away, near some other mountains, sprinkled with a golden dust, we see another city, other tiny figures, the sea and its ships. The lunette terminates above with a glory of angels, holding a long strip of music, and singing, the crowded figures recalling certain groups by Benozzo Gozzoli. A transcendental detail of a kind alien to Pintoricchio's native cast of thought, and perhaps suggested by some one else, is the great cross that seems to have been accidentally formed on the ground by two rugged tree-trunks, thrown one upon the other. The soil around is bare, and it lies in the centre of the empty space, a mournful symbol of future suffering.

In the *Jesus disputing with the Doctors of the Law*, the boy Jesus stands in the midst of the Doctors with downcast eyes, thoughtful and attentive, discussing the various questions He enumerates upon His fingers. His little face is at once delicate and serious. Books, open and closed, are thrown on the ground in every direction before Him. The Doctors crowd round Him; women and children also approach Him. S. Joseph, anxious to remove the Child from a contest that seems to him unequal, is restrained by the Virgin, a beautiful and gentle figure, who holds him back by the girdle, begging him to let the boy be. The surrounding figures, as we shall see, include but two portraits, and are nearly all conventional personages, in the strange, magnificent, and hybrid raiment the master had already painted in the Borgia Rooms, and was to repeat in the Cathedral Library at Siena. Turks seen almost from behind in great turbans and full mantles with festooning folds, old men with white beards and broad birettas, in gaily coloured tunics and mantles, youths wearing caps with upturned curving brims, women with their hair gathered into veils and twisted into the shape of rams' horns on the temples, old women with the familiar hooked nose, toothless mouth, and sharp chin. The two portraits appear on the left; the wrinkled face of one is full of character. He wears a dark robe, and holds a white handkerchief in his left hand. This is certainly Troilo Baglioni in the plain priestly garments of the Prothonotary Apostolic, not as yet wearing the episcopal vestments he donned on March 6, 1501, when he became Bishop of Perugia, and ceased to be Prior of the Chapter at Spello. This proves that the figure was painted before this date. Beside him, in a green gown, and holding a purse in his hand, almost as if he were carrying the sum to be given in payment of the decorations of the chapel, is another beardless man, with a more refined type of face, downcast eyes, and subtly modelled mouth and nose. At their feet in the foreground is a group of two little boys, which adds a charming touch of tenderness to the scene. It is curious to note that the technique of these two figures is broader, fatter and richer than usual. Examining them closely, we find that they were not only painted without having been drawn first like the rest, but that they are put in over the outlines of the figures behind



them. They did not therefore form part of the original design, but were added by Pintoricchio to fill up the corner.

In the centre of the background is one of the usual octagonal temples, the cupola covered with scales; in the two lateral recesses are statues of Minerva and Pomona. On the platform are figures of devout persons, children, and beggars. Behind is a land-



*Pinars. photo.*

"JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS OF THE LAW"  
SINTA MARIA MAGGIORE SPELLO

scape with trees, mountains, castles, and the sea. In the distance on the left is the grim figure of a malefactor hanging from the gallows.

In the fillings of the ribbed vault, which are divided by broad fillets decorated with grotesques, meeting in a large modern rosette which has no doubt replaced the arms of the Baglioni, are four Sibyls, as in the Choir of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome; they do not, however, recline, but are seated. Three, the European, Tiburtine, and Samian Sibyls, have been ruined by the rain that has penetrated the roof, and by the repainting with which an attempt has been made to repair the damage. Each is seated on a throne with a niche at the back, flanked by two antique altars, on the fronts of which are inscribed the mystic utterances. The Erythræan Sibyl, in a beautiful Renaissance dress, alone survives to give some idea of the original splendour of the design. She is seated diagonally across the throne, writing in the book upon her lap. She wears a low-necked green gown with a red hem, striped sleeves of yellow and black slashed with

white, and a veil twisted in her fair hair and her blue coif. The head and hands, with their warm tones on a golden tint, proclaim the hand of the master. But those who have recognised it with laudations throughout the entire decoration of the chapel are certainly greatly mistaken. The work of one or of several pupils is clearly discernible in the ribs of the vault, in the background of the *Annunciation*, more especially the loggia and the garden, and in the whole of the very mediocre background of the *Jesus*



THE EUTHREAN SIBYL

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, SPELLO

*disputing with the Doctors*.\* Nor can we agree that if Vasari had known this fresco he would have "expressed himself with more justice and consideration with regard to the master's merits," for Vasari condemns his manner in general, and his excessive employment of assistants.† These paintings, though excellent, are certainly not so superior to those of the Ara Coeli Chapel, and those by the master's own hand in the Borgia Rooms, as to induce a modification of an opinion based upon these. They are, indeed, by no

\* There are various works by Pintoricchio's pupils in Umbria. Of some of these we have already spoken. We may further instance a panel in the lonely Church of San Vito, upon a hill near Lake Trasimene, a few kilometres from Passignano. It represents the Crucified Saviour between the Virgin and SS. Vitus, Francis, and John the Evangelist. In form and colour it is closely akin to the master, but it lacks his delicacy and elegance. His art in its passage through the soul of his pupil has become heavy and dull. Another work showing great affinities with the master's manner, is a Madonna and Child, with the Donor, in a cheerful landscape, in the Ambrosiana at Milan.

† Vasari vol. iii. p. 501, note. Francesco Fabi Montani, *Elogio storico di Bernardino detto il Pintoricchio* (Rome, 1837) p. 7.



means without defects, as, for instance, the extreme minuteness of the background, and the crowding together of the figures in the *Christ disputing with the Doctors*, a defect premonitory of the exaggeration of this tendency shown in the Borgia Rooms.

Behind the cupboard of the former sacristy, now the Chapel of the Sacrament, in a niche covered by the wood with which the walls are overlaid, was a fine marble piscina. It was removed to the new sacristy, but in the niche there remains a half-length figure of an Angel holding up the cords of a cartel with handles, surmounted by dolphins, and inscribed: *Lavamini et mundi estote*. The Angel is by Pintoricchio; he awaits the hand, which, removing the planks that hide him, shall give him back air, and light, the ornament and the ripple of his little fountain.

\* \* \*

Historical researches and direct critical examination, carried out entirely without bias, have alike failed to convince us of Pintoricchio's collaboration in the decorations of the vault of the Exchange at Perugia, just as they failed to persuade us of Perugino's participation in those of the Borgia Rooms; and we believe that after their labours in the Sistine Chapel, the two masters never worked together again. At the date in question, Bernardino, overwhelmed with commissions and with hard work, and obliged to avail himself largely of the help of subordinates in his own undertakings, was not likely to have had either time or inclination to take part in those of another artist. The large picture of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, for instance, which was ordered for the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria della Pietà at Castel della Fratta, and is now in the Vatican Gallery, seems to have been painted almost entirely by a pupil.\*

Nevertheless, authentic documents recording the payment for the picture exist, which assign it to him, and show that it was finished in the June of 1503. It seems probable, therefore, that Pintoricchio, summoned to Siena exactly a year before, for the great undertaking of the decoration of the Library, left the completion of the picture (a work destined not for Rome, Siena or Perugia, but for La Fratta, now known as Umbertide) to one of his pupils, as to whose identity we have our suspicions.

The documents containing the order for the picture have not come down to us, but we have three dealing with the payment therefor. In the first, dated June 27, 1503, Pintoricchio declares that he demands nothing further from Arcangelo (son) of the deceased Toto di Nunzio, and from Gregorio (son) of the deceased Antonio Balduzzi than the sixty ducats which formed a part of the sum agreed upon in the deed relating to the painting and ornamentation of the picture placed over the altar, in which sum was included a balance of eleven ducats, and a further sum of fourteen for a purchase of gold, made at Gubbio by the said Arcangelo. This cleared off the first instalment and annulled the deed.

On October 8, 1505, Camillo Caporali, Canon of S. Lorenzo, at Perugia, received on behalf of his brother Gian Battista and Pintoricchio, three more ducats of the hundred which seem to have formed the sum total agreed upon for the picture; and finally,

\* Erasmo Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* (Rome, 1829), p. 136. Vermiglioli, p. 41. Formerly ascribed to Perugino by Orsini, *Vita di Pietro Perugino* (Perugia, 1804), p. 202. A. Venturi called it "one of the most beautiful pictures painted by Pintoricchio about the year 1500." *La Galleria Vaticana* (Rome, 1890), p. 44.



twenty-two days later, on the same warrant, nine florins and forty *bolognini*.<sup>\*</sup> Now the coupling of Gian Battista Caporali, son of Bartolomeo, with Pintoricchio, as one of the principals for whom Camillo acted in the collection of the balances due, makes us suspect that he, a painter, of the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven at the time, trained in the Umbrian School, and more especially in that of Perugino,<sup>†</sup> executed the picture almost entirely from drawings or a cartoon of Bernardino's; the types are, indeed, very Peruginesque, particularly those of the beardless youths and the angels above. The twelve Apostles are standing, divided into two lateral groups. In all of them there are defects of drawing; the heads are badly modelled; the hands are hard and often distorted. Neither the colour, with its occasional passages of a forced intensity that rather emphasises than modifies its prevailing languor, nor the coarse and heavy cast of the draperies, is strictly Pintoricchiesque. The figures of the five kneeling saints, Francis of Assisi, Bernardine, Anthony, Louis and Bonaventura, are more important; but even in these we fail to see the characteristics of the master. The planes are not lacking in breadth, but they are not treated with decision; the tones are warm, but not transparent. The S. Francis has a rubicund face utterly wanting in spirituality, and is disfigured by a coarseness of execution in such details as the cord that hangs from his waist, very foreign to Pintoricchio. On the clouds, against the glory or mandorla, with its edges and rays of gold (the gold bought at Gubbio!), is the kneeling Virgin, with six somewhat puffy seraphim, and, a little higher up, the Saviour, seated, placing the crown upon her head. The Madonna is sweet and suave; the Christ is somewhat ungracefully swathed in His thick mantle and large sleeves. Both are clearly by the hand of the pupil, as are also the angels on either side, playing the harp and the viola.

The landscape falls short of Pintoricchio's perfection in a degree still more marked. The mountains lack atmosphere. The little figures and the clumsy animals are quite unworthy of one who could produce them so skilfully with a few swift strokes. Above a hill on the right near a pierced crag, rises a church, most wretchedly drawn and coloured, and the green planes of the neighbouring hills are crude and monotonous in tint. To sum up, Pintoricchio designed and drew the picture, and Gian Battista Caporali painted it.

The Maravelli family own two little half-length portraits at their villa near Perugia, a woman with clasped hands in a greyish purple gown and a kind of white hood, and a fair-haired young man in a similar attitude, with a biretta and a dark blue tunic. They are said to be part of the predella of the altar-piece described above, left behind by the French when they carried off the picture to Paris (whence it was restored to Italy in 1815 and deposited in the Vatican), and sold to the Maravelli by the Franciscans of Umbertide, in return for a sum of money for the restoration of their church.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, iii. (Rome, 1890), pp. 465-66.

<sup>†</sup> Mariotti, *Lettere pittoriche*, p. 233 et seq. Vasari, iii. p. 597. Mezzanotte, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Pietro Vannucci* (Perugia, 1836), p. 271. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii., p. 360-362, &c.

<sup>‡</sup> Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida*, p. 356. A. Lupattelli, *Storia della Pittura in Perugia e dell'Arte ad essa affine* (Foligno, 1885), p. 45. Magherini-Graziani, *L'Arte a Città di Castello*, p. 177, &c. Also information furnished by Signor Piceller, of Perugia. Adamo Rossi gave a lecture on this picture at Perugia in April 1890.



*After a photo.*

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

VATICAN PICTURE GALLERY





## CHAPTER VIII

### PINTORICCHIO AT SIENA

THE AGREEMENT FOR THE PAINTING OF THE PICCOLOMINI LIBRARY—THE CHAPEL OF  
SAN GIOVANNI BATTISTA—THE TWO PICTURES BURNT IN THE CHURCH OF SAN  
FRANCESCO—CARTOON OF *FORTUNE*—THE FRESCOS IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

WHEN Bernardino had finished the noble frescoes at Spello, and prepared the picture for La Fratta, he hastened to Siena, where he undertook to decorate the cathedral library with historical subjects and ornaments.

The building, a vast room adjoining the left aisle of the cathedral, was begun by Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III., about the year 1492,\* and intended by him for the installation of the works of that famous humanist, his maternal uncle, Pius II., Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and the Greek, Latin and Hebrew books he had collected, rare works rich in illuminations, and very different in character to the choir-books of the cathedral.

Antonio Barili, a distinguished wood-carver, made the shelves for the books (1495-96), and Antonio di Maestro Giacomo Ormanni the bronze gratings, cast by him in 1497. Nor was this all. The library was decorated with ornamental paintings of a very modest kind, which, however, sufficed to show that the idea of enriching the room with important frescoes and adding the marble ornament of Lorenzo di Mariano, called Marrina, outside the entrance, was a later conception. Of these earlier paintings a fine specimen has come to light on one of the ribs of the vault, from which the plaster fell. It revealed a decoration of small dark leaves on white, and a fringe on red.

When therefore Cardinal Francesco determined to engage Pintoricchio for the task, the room was already modestly painted, and it was the very poverty of the decoration that suggested the idea of something more important in honour of Pius II., the man who had established the greatness and the fortune of his house. In the agreement of June 29, 1502, it was provided, among other things, that while the work in the library was in progress, the artist was not to undertake anything else, "either in a picture, or on a

\* Not in 1495, as Gaetano Milanesi asserts in his commentary to Vasari's *Life of Pintoricchio* (vol. iii. p. 515), relying upon the document granting exemption of duty on the materials for the building. In the *Archivio di Stato di Siena* (Fol. i. of the *Opera del Duomo*), there are entries of sums paid for the door and for the marbles of the windows carved by Francesco di Domenico, stone-carver, and other notes relating to the library under the date 1494. We are indebted for much valuable information as to Sienese matters to Cav. Alessandro Lisini, to the Keeper of the Library, F. Donati, to Agnere Socini and Professor Alessandro Franchi.

wall, in Siena or elsewhere"; that he should illustrate therein the life of Pius II., "with such personages, action, and costumes as are necessary and convenient for the proper portrayal thereof"; that he should decorate the vault "as he should judge most beautiful, graceful, and pleasing, in good colours of the first quality, and with foliage and ornaments of the kind called grotesques"; that he should "paint the figures in fresco, and afterwards retouch them *a secco*, and finish them off in good colours"; that he should "execute all the drawings for the episodes, both in the cartoons and on the walls, with his own hand"; that he should "fresco all the heads himself; and that he should retouch and finish them *a secco* till they were perfect."\*

It seems certain that Pintoricchio, unencumbered by other tasks, at once set to work on the drawings and cartoons, which must necessarily have occupied him for some time, while his assistants began to decorate the vault with stucco and colours, as is shown by the cardinal's hat in the coat of arms of Francesco Piccolomini in the centre of the vault and in the capitals of the pilasters.

It follows that these portions of the decoration at any rate were begun before August 1503, for at that date Francesco Piccolomini succeeded Alexander VI. in the papacy, and in homage to his uncle took the name of Pius III. But already old, feeble, and afflicted with gout, he soon made way for Giuliano della Rovere, who became Pope on October 18, while Cesare Borgia remained shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, his downfall assured.

In the will made by Piccolomini before he became Pope, and dated April 30, 1503, we find that at this date Pintoricchio had only got as far as the drawings and cartoons, for the "histories" are specially mentioned as not yet begun.† Judging from the number of works Pintoricchio undertook and carried out in 1504, it seems probable that the decoration of the library was suspended for a while, owing, no doubt, to the necessity for inquiring into and settling the multitudinous claims of the Piccolomini family. We find that Pintoricchio painted the Chapel of San Giovanni in Siena Cathedral in 1504, and one at least of the two pictures for the Church of San Francesco. The Chapel of S. John was a completely new building, adjoining the cathedral, erected towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the door of communication (afterwards decorated with magnificent sculptures by Marrina), was made in the wall at a point where there was formerly an altar dedicated to S. Catherine.‡ The chapel is circular, with a rich marble plinth, on which there were formerly magnificent intarsias by Antonio Barili; it contained statues by Neroccio, Giovanni di Stefano, and Donatello; reliefs in stucco by Cosimo Lucchi and Alberto Caponeri; a font, carved perhaps by Federighi, in the manner of Jacopo della Quercia; frescoes by Pintoricchio and his assistants, retouched in certain portions of late by Cesare Maccari.§ But what concerns us here is the work of Pintoricchio, to whom, in addition to several frescoes, is due also the design for the border or frieze (as Landi calls it), on a black ground inlaid with various arabesques and harpies, the harpies alternating with vases. The payment for eight paintings

\* Vasari, iii. p. 519-520.

† *Op. et loc. cit.* Pietro Rossi, *Il Pintoricchio a Siena* (Siena 1902).

‡ Alfonso Landi, *Racconto di Pitture, Sculture ed Architetture eccellenti che si trovano nel Duomo di Siena*, MS. in the Communal Library of Siena (ii. 30), p. 63, *et seq.*

§ Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese* (Siena, 1854-56), vol. ii. pp. 398, 415. E. A. Brigidì, *Nuova Guida di Siena* (Siena, 1900), p. 91. Luise M. Richter, *Siena* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 135-142.

FRESCOES IN THE CHAPEL OF SAN GIOVANNI, SIENA 165

made to Pintoricchio by Alberto Aringhieri, director and superintendent (*Operaio*\*), is thus registered on August 23, 1504: "Master Bernardino the Perugian, called Il Penturicchio, painter, is entitled up to this 23rd day of August, 1504, to 700 *lire*, 0 *soldi*, in cash,



PORTRAIT OF A KNIGHT OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM  
CHATELAIN GROS AND S. V. CATHOLIC

the which sum is due to him for the painting of eight pictures in the Chapel of San Giovanni, enriched by him with various figures and colours, carried out in gold and fine colours, the which he did by order of Messer Alberto Aringhieri, our worthy superintendent of works, on agreement with him for the above sum."†

At present the master's work, though a good deal retouched, may be recognised in five paintings; three were repainted so early as 1608 by Francesco Rustichi

\* The word *Operaio* in this connection has the special sense of overseer of the cathedral building.

† S. Borghesi and L. Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese*. Edition revised by Alessandro Lisini (Siena, 1898), p. 389.



or Rustichino; more modern hands have since made considerable additions and alterations.

A young and handsome knight kneels in prayer in a meadow sprinkled with flowers; he is in complete armour; his white-plumed helmet and his gauntlets lie on the ground in front of him. Over his cuirass, which is elaborately rendered in all the minutiae of its chain-mail, its straps, its gilded bosses, is thrown a kind of red cope with a gold border which bears a white cross on the breast. Behind him is a wide valley enclosed by steep crags and mountains, with a road on the right, on which rides a soldier, while a pedestrian seems to be trying to keep up with him; in the distance are villages, castles, temples, rocks on the summits, towns below, a broad river and the sea. The tall, slender trees are touched with gold in parts. Time has tempered and softened the whole fresco, till it now appears one of the most delicate ever painted by the master.

It has been asserted that the warrior represents the Aringhieri above mentioned, or a knight of his family;\* as a fact, nothing positive is known in this connection. We think the painting may very well be a portrait, but that the real object of the composition was to show one of the costumes of the Knights of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, in his island of Rhodes, like the opposite fresco, which represents Alberto Aringhieri.† He, too, is kneeling on a flowery meadow-slope with two trees, one of them a palm, high above Rhodes, with its deserted streets. The perspective of the fortifications, with the gate closed by a chain, is very well rendered; in the gulf three sailing-ships appear. Aringhieri, or the Knight of Rhodes, prays with clasped hands. He wears black robes, a black stole across his breast, on which is the white cross, a black skull-cap on his head; his hat is placed in front of him, on the stump of a withered tree. This fresco has suffered greatly. The sky and the sea show patches due to the restorer, as does also the foliage of the palm. The third finger of the left hand is repainted, and the head shows very evident repairs, over gashes that look as if they had been intentionally made.

The *Birth of S. John the Baptist* may be compared with that *Birth of the Virgin* designed and drawn by Pintoricchio for one of the lunettes of the Chapel of the *Madonna dell' Orto*, in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. The shape and workmanship of the intarsia bed inlaid with pieces of looking-glass are identical; and the woman seated on the ground and washing the infant is very similar.

But the touch of the master's hand is lacking in the Roman fresco, whereas it is apparent in much of the Sieneſe example. In a somewhat luxurious chamber, in which is a double window with round panes, S. Elizabeth appears in bed. She has been entirely clothed and much ill-treated by restorers, but her original form is meagre and wretched. On the other hand, the action of the woman seated on the ground is full of grace. Both in face and costume she resembles a figure in the adjoining Library. She wears a gold chain round her neck, a fillet across her forehead; a net confines her hair. She is dressed in a bodice with horizontal black stripes, a white apron, a yellow scarf, a blue gown with red sleeves, which she has turned up to wash the child, who stands in a golden bowl. He is ugly, puffy, and ill-formed, perhaps because he is repainted all

\* Steinmann, p. 118, and Phillips, p. 109 *et seq.*

† F. G. Sommi Picenardi, *Itinéraire d'un Chevalier de Saint Jean de Jérusalemme dans l'île de Rhodes* (Lille, 1900), pp. 102, 103.



"Birth of St. John the Baptist." Fresco in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, Siena Cathedral

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which bears a white cross on the breast. Behind him is a wide valley enclosed  
the right, on which rides a soldier, while  
in ; in the distance are villages, castles,  
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# FRESCOS IN THE CHAPEL OF SAN GIOVANNI, SIENA 167

over. In the foreground the haloed Madonna sits in a modest chair, and warms a cloth over a charcoal brazier.

Pintoricchio was also the painter of the *S. John in the Desert*, above the young knight, against a background of simulated golden mosaic. He has a sweet youthful



Leonardo, *pinto*.

PORTRAIT OF ALBERTO ARINGHIERI  
CATHEDRA II, SIENA

face, long chestnut hair, and thin bare arms and legs, and is standing upright beside a little fountain. The wood, the grass, and the flowers are rendered with the most loving minuteness. Two deer are browsing quietly close by, showing that Pintoricchio had no need of assistants to paint the animals in the *Susanna* of the Borgia Rooms.

We further recognise his hand in the *Preaching of John the Baptist*, also against a background of tesserae, and can only record our astonishment at the statement that it is a modern fresco, painted by Cesare Maccari in the nineteenth century! \*

\* Brigidi, *Guida cit.*, p. 91.



The Precursor, standing upon a heap of stones between two trees, his lean ascetic figure well and carefully drawn, seems to us the work of the master. In front of him is a crowd of listeners, and a piteous little figure of a boy with long fair hair, in red hose, patched at the knees, a tattered cloak, his arms crossed over a stick on his breast. This is very feebly painted. Behind, a man holds up his left hand admiringly, his right planted upon his hip, near a skin pouch. An old man, bent and bowed, with a long white beard, leans forward. The whole, with the exception of the figure of the Saint, is the work of assistants; some persons have put forward the absurd hypothesis that Perugino should be included among them!

\* \* \*

Sigismondo Tizio relates that on September 8 of this same year, 1504, in the Church of San Francesco at Siena, a valuable picture by Pintoricchio was uncovered. These are his precise words: "*Chapella Piccholomineorum ad dexteram maioris arae Sancti Francisci Ecclesiae absoluta primum patefacta est die septembris octavo cum tabula conspicua opificii Bernardini perusini.*"\* This "conspicuous" work was burnt in the fire that destroyed a large portion of the church on August 24, 1655.

Yet another picture by Pintoricchio perished on the same occasion. He had painted it for the Chapel of Filippo Sergardi, Clerk to the Apostolic Chamber, which was dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin.† Indeed, this alone of the two works is recorded by Vasari;‡ in the *Guida*, supposed to have been written by Fabio Chigi, in 1623 or 1624;§ and finally, in a manuscript anterior to the fire, which Pungileone examined and communicated to Vermiglioli, who affirmed it to have been finished in the handwriting of Padre de Angelis, although it belonged to the archives of S. Francesco, which had passed to Florence in 1810.

Tizio, mentioning the Chapel in which it was, gives the subject by implication; Vasari specifies it more precisely: a *Birth of the Virgin*;‡ Fabio Chigi (if we accept him as the author of the *Guida*) alludes to it thus: "The altar of the Nativity of the Virgin, belonging to the Sergardi, Pintoricchio; and the predella, Raphael of Urbino," and the "Anonimo" of the seventeenth century finally adds his evidence: "Bernardino Pinturicchio, the famous Perugian painter, in a most excellent picture over the altar of Filippo Sergardi, official of the Apostolic Chamber, depicted the Birth of the glorious Virgin, and the famous Raphael of Urbino further painted there, in small, on the predella of this picture, other scenes from sacred history."||

From the passages quoted it would seem that no one thought of ascribing the predella to Raphael before the seventeenth century. Padre Luigi de Angelis, in his appendix to the *Vita del Beato Pietro Pettinaio*¶ quotes another and much more categorical notice,

\* *Historia senenses*, MS. vi. fol. 602.

† Tizio, *op. cit.* Fragment published by Vermiglioli (in the Appendix, p. lxiv.) and by Luigi Billi, *Notizie sulla Vita e le Opere del Pintoricchio* (Siena, 1900), p. 8.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 504.

§ *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture et Architetture della Città di Siena*, made about the year 1623, extracted from a copy of a manuscript of His Eminence Cardinal Chigi.

|| Vermiglioli, p. 116; Pungileone, *Elogio storico di Raffaello di Urbino* (Urbino, 1829, 1831), I, p. 55.

¶ *Vita del B. Pietro Pettinaio senese volgarizzata da una leggenda latina del 1333 per F. Serafino Ferri l'anno 1508, corretta e riordinata con annotazioni ed aggiunte dal padre Maestro de Angelis* (Siena, 1802), p. 129.

which he says was taken from another manuscript also preserved in the monastery of S. Francesco.\* It runs as follows: "In the fire perished Bazzi's beautiful picture of the *Invention of the Cross*; one by Perugino, in which the Nativity of our Saviour was admirably depicted, with another by Pinturicchio, representing the Birth of the Virgin Mary, for which picture Raphael of Urbino painted the predella with great solicitude, as we learn from the receipt in the master's own hand, which the author of a manuscript in the archives of this convent declares to have seen in the possession of the Sergardi, nobles of Siena."† To which other manuscript of the monastery does this allude? Evidently not to that of 1630; for this, though it mentions the predella, says nothing of a receipt in Raphael's own handwriting, in the possession of the Sergardi family! It is true that Vermiglioli adds: "The Sergardi still preserve the Urbinate's receipt;" but this statement, which does not rest on any personal knowledge, is unconfirmed, for neither the precious receipt nor Ciatti's manuscript can be found; nor can much reliance be placed on De Angelis, as a rule. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark that "certain studies by the Urbinate in the Oxford collection seem to have been made for a predella of this period,"‡ but they confess that this is a mere supposition of their own, and that the whole history of the predella is obscure and open to controversy. It has, however, been brought forward once more of late, with the suggestion that a part of it may be identified in a little panel in Paris, representing the *Marriage of the Virgin*, the figures and composition of which are derived from Perugino's (or Lo Spagna's) picture at Caen.§ None of the Sienese Chronicles, in the various accounts of the fire, allude to the rescue of the whole or of part of the *Birth of the Virgin*, or its predella. The earliest record|| states that "on the night of S. Bartholomew's Eve the terrible fire took place in Siena, caused by the carelessness with which some tapers had been placed in the Sacristy the evening before, on the occasion of the obsequies of a member of the Orlandini family, who was buried in the Church, the whole of which was burnt, only the walls remaining; the Sacristy also was burnt, with all its rich hangings of brocade, its vestments, silk draperies, linen, books, manuscripts, holy relics, its silver statues, candlesticks, crosses, lamps, and everything of the sort, such as censers, chalices, &c., of which there was great store. In addition to this lamentable spectacle, there was further the burning of all the pictures and paintings in this Church, the beauty of which had caused it to be called the 'Picture-Gallery' in Italy; a loss that caused the greatest grief to all the city; all that escaped was the panel representing the Holy Image of the Conception, the altar of which and part of the curtain that covered it being destroyed, and further, the miraculous statue of S. Anthony of Padua, by special favour of Our Lady and the said Saint, all the bays of the church having been destroyed save the part of the transept adjoining the Chapel of the Saint." Pecci writes as follows: "As nearly the whole of the Church was destroyed, many pictures by the most famous of our painters were burnt, and the memorials of many of

\* *Notizi estratte ex Annalibus Franciscanis*, by Felice Ciatti, and also mentioned by Guglielmo della Valle. See Bottari and Ticozzi, *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, vol. vi. (Milan, 1882) p. 394. Cf. V. Lusini, *Storia della Basilica di San Francesco in Siena* (Siena, 1894), pp. 182-183.

† Vermiglioli, p. 118.

‡ Raffaello, i. p. 188.

§ P. O., *Un Tableau inconnu de la jeunesse de Raphaël*, in the *Figaro Illustré* for March, 1901 (Paris, no. 132). The writer, alluding to the burning of the altar-piece, says: "The predella alone was saved, as if by a miracle, and was offered, like a relic, to Pope Alexander VIII. (Fabio Chigi)." Whence was this statement derived? B. Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, Series ii. (London 1902), pp. 1-22.

|| *Cronaca senese*, MS. no. 54, in the Royal State Archives of Siena; 1655.

our most illustrious men perished miserably, because, when the pavement was relaid, the fragments and remains of the former stones and inscriptions were taken up, and were found to be so shattered and damaged, partly by time, partly by the fury of the fire, and the falling of beams and stones, that only a few broken remains were preserved, and placed in the cloisters of S. Gherardo."\*

\* \* \*

Another work due to our master is recorded in a document of March 13, 1505 (1504 in the Siennese style): "To Master Bernardino Pintoricchio, painter, for his labour in making a cartoon for the design of the *Fortune*, which is now being made in the Cathedral, on this 13th day of March 12 *libre, soldi* —, for our said Master Alberto [Aringhieri]."†

This design of *Fortune* is one of the famous mosaics of the marble pavement of the Cathedral, the figures in white, with a black sky and red ground, the whole in Siennese marbles. The hems of the robes, the birettas, sandals, jewels, books, etc., are of other marbles, thus forming and colouring a kind of intarsia invented in the fifteenth century. It was very much damaged, and was restored, or relaid by Leopoldo Maccari from a design by Giovanni Bruni shortly after 1850. The engraving of the figures was strengthened (and also slightly altered), on the same marbles, and some of the coloured pieces were renewed. The figures best preserved are those of *Virtue*, *Socrates*, and *Crates* on the mountain, those on the upper part of the mosaic. The jewels Crates casts into the sea are all new, for they were inlaid in the perishable black, which has been renewed throughout. The whole composition is slightly primitive and lacking in energy, but Fortune herself is literally unstable, with one foot in the sea on a crazy boat, the other on land on a globe, and the swelling sail over her head.

Thus, while Pintoricchio was carrying out these minor works, and making the cartoons for the history of Enea Silvio, his disciples, working under his direction, finished the decorations of the vaulted ceiling of the Library, and a part of the divisions of the walls, so that he was able to begin his personal labours, and from 1505 to 1507, to execute the gayest, if not the most beautiful, of his works.

\* \* \*

The first impression one receives from a general survey of the Cathedral Library at Siena is one of the utmost gaiety and well-being. Mind and eye are alike enchanted by the rich feast of colour, the nervous elegance of the lines, the harmony of all the surroundings.‡ The Library is in shape a rectangle, formed of two equal squares. Over the marble entrance door is a kind of stucco canopy with medallions in relief, and

\* Giovanni Antonio Pecci, *Raccolta universale di tutte l'Iscrizione, Armi, e altri Monumenti sì antichi come moderni, esistenti nel terzo di Camollia fino a questo presente anno, 1731*. MS. in the Royal State Archives, fol. 34 and verso.

† Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 389. Landi, *Racconto delle Pitture*, &c., p. 170. The design of the *Emperor Sigismund with various Persons round a Temple*, in another part of the Cathedral pavement, has also been attributed to Pintoricchio, but the forms of the temple, the figures, the folds of the draperies, &c., show it to be a Tuscan work.

‡ With the exception of the ugly seats, a glass case of photographs, an Empire niche and base with a *Risen Christ* above, the removal of which would leave a perfect impression of the art of the Renaissance.



the figures of Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise by the Angel, closely resembling that energetic version modelled by Jacopo della Quercia nearly a century before on the Fonte Gaja, but not a reproduction of the latter, as we find by the differences in measurement, and the suaver, or perhaps we should say the weaker modelling. It may be that Jacopo's relief was already in bad condition at the time, and that this copy was



*Landwehr, photo.*

THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

FIG. 31

made as a memorial of it.\* On the wall opposite the entrance are two high narrow windows; in the embrasures, on either side, are coffered divisions with the heraldic half-moon on a blue field; the Cardinal's arms are repeated in the coloured glass. In the lunettes above the two windows in rich polychromatic reliefs of stucco, surrounded by garlands of fruit is the Piccolomini coat of arms: a blue cross with five crescents, one on each arm and one in the centre, on a white field. Above it are the crossed keys and the papal tiara, and on a cartel below P.II. PP.III. This portion of the decoration must therefore have been executed after August 1503. Each of the two enclosing garlands is supported by two painted angels with their feet on clouds, and garments fluttering in airy serpentine folds. As far as it is possible to judge in the half-light in which they

\* This canopy was in its place from the time when the Library was built. This we see from the fact that the frescoes and decorations cease on meeting it, leaving a bare space behind it.

are seen, they appear to be by the master. Between the two windows three other escutcheons are grouped in a pyramidal form, two below and one above; in these the Piccolomini crescents are quartered with the arms of Aragon. Below, none of the ancient furniture remains. Here, perhaps, stood the throne or pulpit and the canopied reading-desk for the custodian or superintendent of the books and the students. Now an ugly niche, surrounded by a commonplace wooden frame, is painted in monochrome as a background for a bronze statue of the *Risen Christ with the Banner*, on a wretched pedestal of the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The lower part of the other three walls is faced, for about the depth of two and a half metres with panelling, benches, or shelves of wood, carved by Antonio Barili, remarkable for their graceful simplicity of workmanship. On them are now exhibited the great choir-books, gorgeous with miniatures by Sano di Pietro, Liberale da Verona, Girolamo Cremonese, the Florentine Francesco Rosselli, etc., belonging partly to the Cathedral, partly to the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, and partly collected from the suppressed Monastery of S. Bernardino dell' Osservanza. All the rest is painted with unusual splendour of gold and colours, in lavish profusion, but perhaps with a certain decorative superficiality. The lateral walls display eight of the frescoes; two are on the wall in which is the door into the Cathedral. Each episode is enframed by pilasters, painted with white candelabra on a blue ground; in the angles of the room these are single, but elsewhere they are reinforced by a semi-pilaster on either side, with multi-coloured candelabra on a gold ground. Their bases are ornamented with the escutcheon flanked by two *putti*, and on the stylobate below are bas-reliefs. The pilasters are crowned by capitals with the coat of arms and baskets of foliage, from which spring the pendentives of the vault. The bas-reliefs of the stylobates represent tritons, sea-horses, *putti*, women with their legs bound together, sirens, etc., all struggling and frolicking one with another.

The *putti* that support the escutcheons are not all of equal excellence, nor are they all by the master. Those to the right on entering we believe to be his (though some persons have been pleased to ascribe certain of them to Raphael), and also the two first on the left. The rest are greatly inferior to these in beauty, as also in drawing and colour, and are clearly the work of pupils.

The vault is on the usual plan—the rectangular centre supported by ribbed triangles and pendentives. The arrangement of the colours of the backgrounds is regular, as are also the compositions of "grotesques"; they correspond and contrast in couples, notwithstanding the chromatic variety and the independence of the outline of all this wealth of foliage, figures, fantastic animals, cartels, temples, etc. On the shorter walls, the pendentives have gold grounds and the fillings between the ribs red grounds. On the long walls, the pendentives are blue and the fillings gold. Among the grotesques of the pendentives are discs, ovals, and squares with figures in monochrome representing combats of centaurs, sacrifices, military skirmishes, two women on one horse, a bishop reading, etc. In the long rectangle the motives of the squares, enframed in golden key and pearl pattern, are richer, more varied, and multi-coloured. Here is a nude *Charity* with two *putti*; *Peace* in a flame-coloured robe bearing the olive-branch; a helmet, the emblem of war, thrown on the ground; *Wisdom* with casque, torch, and wings; *Virtue* nude, throwing away jewels and looking disdainfully at a royal crown that lies neglected at her feet.

In the lateral compartments, which are long and narrow like *predelle*, are sirens, tritons, marine gods, indiscreet satyrs contemplating a naked woman (perhaps Antiope), sacrifices, motives that are repeated with but slight variations on both sides. Then, in the midst of this kind of bower brilliant with a thousand hues, two larger squares, with the usual gold background simulating mosaic: in one, the *Rape of Proserpine*, whom Pluto carries off in his chariot drawn by serpents or dragons; in the other *Diana* descending to Endymion, asleep under an olive-tree, his flock feeding quietly beside him. Over these two squares are four others, with *putti* bearing fruit and flowers, and finally in the centre, in relief, the arms of Francesco Piccolomini in a garland of gilded fruit. Two inscriptions in gold letters on a red ground, at the shorter sides of the rectangle, record that the monument was raised by Pius III. to the memory of Pius II.\*

It is obvious that the scheme of division and of decoration in this ceiling is due to Pintoricchio; but the coarse execution is as certainly not his. I am inclined to see among other hands here, that of the assistant who worked with the master in the Baglioni Chapel at Spello, and in the Chapel of the Madonna dell'Orto, in S. Maria del Popolo at Rome.† But the artists of that period were concerned only with the general effect of the vault, which is admirable. Minutiæ were imperceptible to spectators below, in those days, when field-glasses were unknown; the individual work of assistants was not to be distinguished, and what remained to dazzle the eye was the pomp, the splendour, the luxuriance of the whole as conceived by the fertile and brilliant brain of Pintoricchio.

If we contemplate the whole from the end of the room, under the windows, so that we are not dazzled by the direct light, everything we see, from the mosaic pavement‡ to the exquisite classic group of the *Three Graces* (discovered at Rome and brought to Siena by Cardinal Francesco)§ from the flashing fires of the gilding and the gem-like colours, to Barili's beautiful panels melts into a music which, if not invariably harmonious, is jubilant with vibrating high-toned voices; we are in a garden, which, if not sweet with dreamy poetry, is full of brilliant flowers, of vivid spring sunshine, of twittering birds.

\* \* \*

A long discussion has been waged over the question of Raphael's supposed collaboration in the ten frescoes. Vasari was the first to affirm it: "It is quite true that the sketches and the cartoons of all the histories which he [Bernardino] painted here were drawn by Raphael of Urbino, then a youth, who had been Pintoricchio's companion and fellow pupil under Perugino; whose manner the said Raphael had perfectly learnt; and

\* Luise M. Richter has made a curious blunder in her book on *Siena* (Leipzig, 1901, p. 149). She reproduces, as part of this ceiling, some very different decorations by Baldassare Peruzzi in the Villa Belcaro, near Siena.

† On a cartel of the candelabrum of the first pilaster near the window are the initials B. R., which are said to stand for "Bimbo Romano."

‡ This pavement, or the greater part of it, was relaid quite recently with the usual heraldic devices, but with larger tiles than the original ones, which were simple triangles with the crescent moon.

§ Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilis novæ et veteris urbis Romæ*, dedicated to Julius II., Book iii., *De domibus Cardinalium*: "Domus revere. Francisci Piccolomini card. senensis in qua erant statuae gratiarum posite."



of these cartoons one still remains in Siena; and certain sketches for them, by Raphael, are in our book.\*

That Pintoricchio and Raphael must have been in intimate relation one to another seems to me indisputable. The arrival of the youthful Urbinate at Perugia coincided with the return of the older master to Umbria. We have seen that with the exception of a brief interval, Bernardino remained in Umbria from 1496 to late in 1502, working at Spoleto, Perugia, Spello, etc.

Let us see when the "marvellous boy" from Urbino appeared in Perugia.

Giovanni Santi died in 1494, when his son Raphael was fourteen, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have been unable to make any surmise more ingenious than that, on the death of his father, the youth passed in 1495 into Perugino's workshop. In support of this hypothesis, they say that there was no one at Urbino capable of instructing him in his art, and add that "Perugino had establishments both at Florence and at Perugia, but that from 1495 to 1500 he lived more especially at Perugia." The evidences adduced in support of this are: a commission given on March 8, 1495, by the Priors of Perugia for an altar-piece, and by the Benedictines of the same city for an *Ascension*; the inauguration of an altar-piece at Fano in the spring of 1497, and the order for another picture the following year for a church at Sinigaglia, and of a panel for a picture for another altar in Perugia.†

Now whereas there is no reason whatever why these pictures, distributed in various cities of Umbria, should not have been executed in Florence, we have, on the other hand, various evidences that it was in this city, and not in Umbria, that Perugino habitually made his home till the year 1499.

On April 6, 1496, Perugino formally handed over the frescoes of S. Maria dei Pazzi to the Cistercian monks. These, be it remembered, were not like pictures on canvas or panel, easy to transport from one place to another. To complete a work of this kind, it would certainly have been necessary for him to have been in Florence for the greater part of 1495, and the first three months of 1496. It is further to be noted that he applied the money he received in payment to the purchase of a piece of land at Florence, on which to build himself a house.

On June 26, 1498, while an inhabitant of Florence, he was called upon, with other artists, to examine the lantern of the cupola of S. Maria del Fiore, and finally, on September 4 of the same year, he bought another house in the Via dei Pinti. In January of the following year he began the frescoes in the Exchange at Perugia. That he should have occasionally visited the city between 1495 and 1499 is more than probable; but that he lived almost exclusively in Florence during this period is evident from existing documents.‡

It is therefore impossible to believe that Raphael went to Perugia to perfect himself in painting under Pietro Vannucci, before 1499.

Then with what artist could he have pursued his education in his native place after the death of his father, and until the time of his removal to Umbria?

\* Vol. iii. p. 494. In the first edition of the "Lives" Vasari simply said that Raphael had made the cartoons from Bernardino's drawings. In the second he amplifies, ascribing all the sketches and cartoons to him. See also the "Life of Raphael," vol. iv. p. 319.

† *Raffaello*, vol. i. pp. 26-30.

‡ Schmarsow, *Pintoricchio in Rom*, pp. 99-100. Vasari, vol. iii. pp. 611-612.

"Applying himself in his early years to goldsmith's work," writes Vasari of Timoteo Viti, the Urbinate, "he was summoned to Bologna by Messer Pierantonio, his elder brother, who was studying there, and in that noble city, and under the discipline of that excellent master, he followed that art to which he seemed inclined by nature." He adds further: "Being recognised in a few months as a judicious youth, with much greater dispositions towards painting than towards working in precious metals, and having given proof of the same in various very well-executed portraits of friends and others, it seemed well to his said brother to follow the bent of the youth, to the which he was also persuaded by his friends, and to take the file and the chisel from him, and allow him to give himself up entirely to the study of drawing."\* Vasari's statements are confirmed and completed by some fragments that have been published of Francia's household books, in which he notes that Timoteo da Urbino entered his goldsmith's workshop in 1490, and that a little more than a year later "he desired to become a painter, and so was put into the great room with the other pupils." But a more important note is the following: "1495, on the fourth day of April, my dear Timoteo left me; may God give him every blessing and good fortune."† Thus, when he returned to Urbino, grown to man's estate, an expert in the art of a great master like Francia, he was twenty-five years old, while Raphael was only thirteen. To Viti accordingly we may give the credit of having had the boy under his tutelage till 1499, and of having initiated him into the secrets of art. Urbino had, in fact, no other artist of importance during these five years. Giovanni Santi and Melozzo da Forlì were dead; Luca Signorelli and Bramante had settled elsewhere.‡

We may assume, therefore, that Pintoricchio made Raphael's acquaintance in Perugia between 1499 and 1502, that he became intimate with him and often received him in his workshop, though we need not on this account accept all the fantastic theories current as to their having worked together in Perugino's studio, and under him on the scaffolds of the Exchange.

Another point in favour of the thesis that Sanzio made sketches and cartoons for Pintoricchio, is the readiness with which the latter appropriated and adapted the drawings of other artists, taking motives and figures from his master Fiorenzo, from Justus of Ghent, from Signorelli, from Perugino, from Gentile Bellini, etc., as we have already noted in the chapters on the Sistine Chapel and the Borgia Rooms.

The third argument rests upon an examination of the drawings corresponding to four of the frescoes in the Uffizi in Florence, in Count Baldeschi's collection at Perugia, in the Brera at Milan, and in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. But critics are not agreed as to these drawings: some maintain that they are by Raphael,§ others ascribe them to Pintoricchio.|| After long and repeated examination of the great pictorial monument, I must record my personal conviction that it does not contain a single stroke from Raphael's brush, and that the superiority of the first five frescoes is due, not to his intervention¶ but to the fact that Pintoricchio gave a greater amount of

\* Vol. iv. pp. 492-93.

† C. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna, 1844), i. p. 52.

‡ C. Ricci, *La Gloria d'Urbino* (Bologna, 1898), pp. 118-123. Minghetti, *Raffaello*, pp. 17-24.

§ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raffaello*, i. pp. 177-186. Schmarsow, *Raffaello und Pintoricchio in Siena* (Stuttgart, 1880). Steinmann, p. 124 *et seq.* Phillips, p. 115 *et seq.*, &c.

|| Annotators of Vasari, iii. p. 527; Morelli, iii. pp. 247-249; Bueckhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 590, foot-note. P. Nerino Ferri, *Disegni antichi e moderni della Galleria degli Uffizi* (Rome, 1894), p. 199. ¶ Steinmann, p. 124.

his own work to them. We find that at this time he had with him Eusebio di San Giorgio, the painter, in conjunction with whom he undertook in March 1506, to paint the picture for S. Andrea at Spello, and in the penultimate fresco we find, twice repeated, the name or nickname "Bimbo," as to whom we have vainly sought for some information.

As to the drawings, we may at once set aside that in the Brera, a late and very poor copy of the fresco that represents Enea Silvio receiving the poet's crown from the Emperor Frederick III. I accept, as by Pintoricchio himself, the delicate but timid drawings in the Uffizi \* and at Chatsworth, reserving for further discussion my opinion as to the four figures of the Oxford drawing † used for a group in the background of the third fresco, and on the drawing for the fifth fresco in Count Baldeschi's collection at Perugia, which are certainly distinguished by a greater breadth, animation, and ease in the forms, faces less dry and more expressive, larger and more graceful folds in the draperies. In the Baldeschi drawing the landscape is also very different. But were these drawings indeed made in preparation for the frescoes? Morelli, accepting that at Oxford as by Raphael, as, indeed, it seems to be, thinks that he made it in Perugia, in Bernardino's workshop, in preparation for the Library, drawing the same model in various attitudes. To me, however, it seems more likely that Pintoricchio made use of some stray sketch of Raphael's for figures of little importance, mingled with many others, in the background of his fresco. It will hardly be asserted that Pintoricchio would have scrupled to avail himself of studies made by another person!

As to the drawing in the Baldeschi Collection, ought we to look upon it as a preparatory study for Pintoricchio's painting, and not rather as a free transcription of it with variations? Do not the facility of the drawing, the breadth of the treatment, and above all, the character of the landscape, indicate a period later than the first five years of the sixteenth century? The question is a serious one, much more so than it appears to those who maintain a theory favourable to Raphael, or those who will admit nothing that seems to detract from the fame of Pintoricchio.

It is true that in 1503 Pintoricchio was a famous artist of nearly fifty, and that Raphael was a youth of twenty, working under the guidance of Perugino. But Pintoricchio's maturity (not to say his old age) was beginning to show signs of fatigue, while Raphael's youth was a season of miraculous expansion.

Morelli notes that Raphael sometimes borrowed from Bernardino. He instances the *Madonna between two Saints* and the *Solly Madonna*, both in the Berlin Gallery, the *Ansidei Madonna* in the London National Gallery, executed by Raphael with the help of certain drawings by Pintoricchio, the drawing of a head by Raphael in the Malcolm Collection at the British Museum, copied from one by Bernardino, and similar derivations.‡ But all this proves, to our thinking, that there was a familiar

\* Passavant (vol. ii. p. 222), Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Raphael, vol. i. pp. 180-182), and others remark that the inscription on the Uffizi drawing corresponds to Raphael's handwriting; others maintain that it is more like Pintoricchio's. The resemblance of the two towers on the right to those of the Ducal Palace at Urbino proves nothing, for even if this likeness was not accidental, it is certain that Pintoricchio had seen them himself (Urbino not being far from Perugia), and might have drawn them.

† J. C. Robinson, *A Critical Account of the Drawings of Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford* (Oxford, 1870), pp. 126-128. Passavant, *Raffaello*, iii. p. 207.

‡ Morelli, vol. iii. pp. 250, 347-49, 365. W. von Seidlitz, *Raphael und Timoteo Viti*, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xiv. p. 5.





*Altman, photo.*

ENEA PICCOLOMINI SETS OUT FOR THE COUNCIL OF BASLE

FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA

2



friendship between the two artists, and that each made use of the other's work when he pleased.

And this also reveals the origin of Vasari's exaggerated statements. Pintoricchio, no doubt, used some sketches or drawings of Raphael's; but when the fame of the former suffered a certain eclipse, and that of the latter had increased to the point of glorification, it is certain that the Sieneſe would have been among the firſt to exalt the work by attributing as much as poſſible to the greater and more famous artiſt. Their affirmations naturally miſled credulous hiſtorians, for there are always plenty of perſons eager to take from the poor to give to the rich!

As to Raphael's preſence in Siena, we have no proof of it, for we cannot accept as ſuch the idle and uncertain tradition of a predella attributed to him long after his death, nor the drawing of the *Three Graces* in the Venice Sketch Book, now reſtored to Pintoricchio. The authentic contemporary documents that have come down to us, tend to preclude the idea of the youthful Urbinate's ſojourn in the city. In 1504 he was working at the *Spoſalizio* for Città di Caſtello; in 1505 at the Anſidei *Madonna* and at the freſco in San Severo, and he further undertook the altar-piece for the nuns of Monte Luce; in 1507 he finiſhed the *Deſcent from the Croſs* for Atalanta Baglioni, all works painted for Perugia and its neighbourhood. Finally, in 1508 he was in Florence, and afterwards in Rome.

Indeed, when we conſider that the freſcoes in the Piccolomini Library were completed between 1505 and 1507, and that at this period Raphael painted the above mentioned works and many others of note, it ſeems ſtrange that any one, comparing the art of the one with that of the others, ſhould have thought for a moment that the Urbinate's hand is to be recognised in the freſcoes.

I. Enea Silvio was twenty-seven when Monſignor Domenico Capranica arrived in Siena on his way to the Council of Baſle to lodge an appeal againſt Eugenius IV., who reſuſed to confirm him in the dignity of Cardinal beſtowed on him by the preceding Pope, Martin V. Enea, eager to ſee the world and full of ardour, aſked leave to accompany him, and was accepted as his ſecretary.

The journey was to be made by ſea as far as Genoa; but a violent ſtorm drove the veſſel towards the African coaſt and afterwards to Corſica and Sardinia. The travellers, changing ſhips at Porto Venere, arrived finally at Genoa, where they were well received, and whence they paſſed on to Milan and Baſle.\*

The youthful Enea rides a white horſe with a flowing tail, and turns in the ſaddle to look behind him. He wears a large red felt hat, the wide brim of which is faſtened up in front with a gold ornament, and a broad blue chin-ſtrap, from behind which his light brown hair falls on his neck, over a ſtiff green cape ſtriped with gold that ſurmounts a blue cloak with the conventional hook-like folds. Yellow boots, lined with green, come half-way up his legs, which are encaſed in dark green hoſe. The beardleſs face is very attractive, but the figure is ſomewhat over-draped. He looks out at the ſpectator

\* *Narrazione delle Geſta di Enea Silvio Piccolomini (poi Pio II.) rappreſentate nelle Pareti della Libreria Corale del Duomo di Siena, dal Pintoricchio con gli Schizzi e Cartoni di Raffaello di Urbino in dieci grandi Quadri colle loro riſpettive Iſcrizioni* (Siena, 1771). The reprint, published at Siena in 1895, is called *Gli Affreſchi della Libreria Monumentale del Duomo di Siena*. On the ſubject of Enea Piccolomini and his doings a whole literature exiſts, the moſt notable works being thoſe of Beets, Fea, Gengler, Hagenbach, Heinemann, Helwing, Leoni, Roſſetti, Verdière, Voigt, Weiſs, Campano, Duchesne, Leſca, Caliſſe, &c.

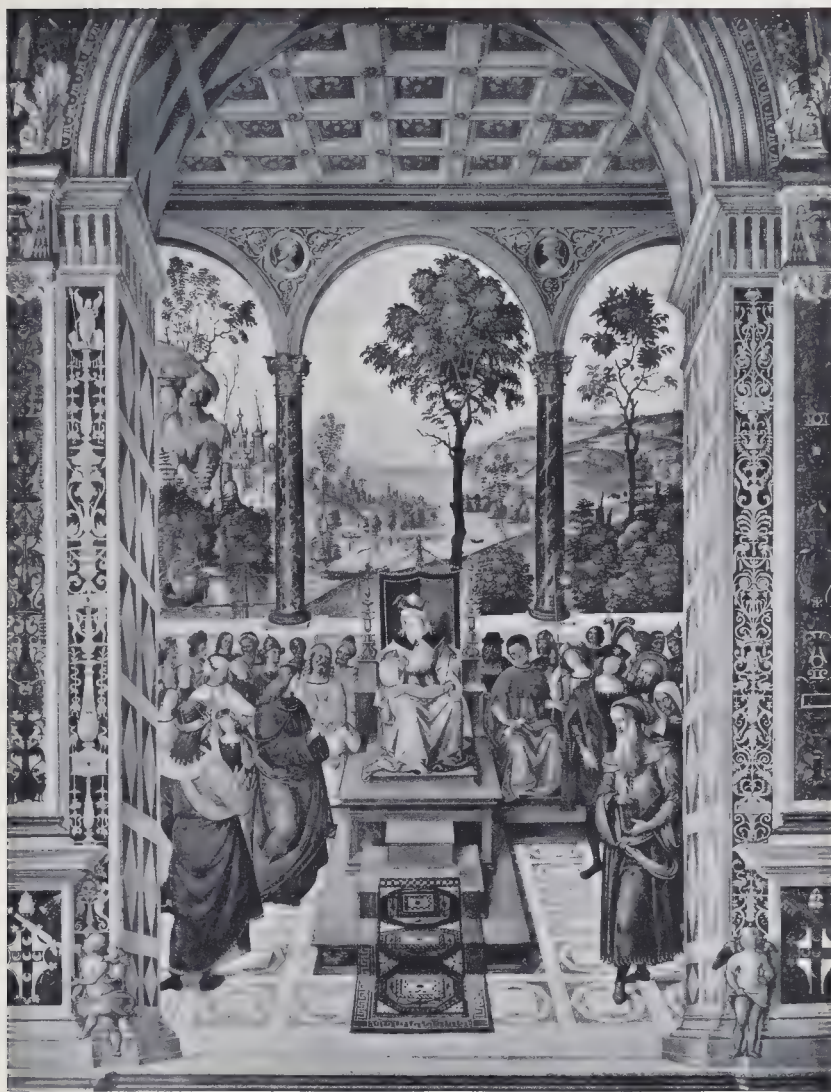


with frank dark eyes, holding up a folded letter in his right hand. Above his horse's head rises the figure of Cardinal Capranica on a dark bay horse, in sharp profile; he wears a cap lined with fur, and red robes. This portrait is modelled with much vigour, but with some hardness. Between him and Enea Silvio, on a brown horse, of which all that is seen is the ugly head, rides another prelate, also in profile, with a ruddy complexion, a violet mantle, and a black hat with green tassels. Two grooms, young, graceful, and smooth-faced, in dainty costumes and hats with upturned borders, walk in front, and a halberdier advances with a long stride, turning his head, and lifting his cap to salute Capranica. The attitude recalls that of a nude figure in the Venice Sketch Book.

Behind Enea rides a page, his head inclined over his shoulder like a S. George of the Umbrian school. He rides a prancing roan, and holds in leash a placid greyhound which seems quite unaffected by the rapid movement of the rider! The face has all the Peruginesque sweetness of type (which has caused the attribution of this figure to Raphael), but the hands and the blue mantle with its alternating hooked folds are poorly executed. Between the page and Enea rides another cardinal on a white mule, a graceful youth to his left. The other heads, behind this group, are more coarsely drawn and coloured, and betray the hand of an assistant.

Over the extensive background, showing a gulf studded with ships, their sails swelling to the wind, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia in the distance, breaks the tempest described by Enea Silvio in a letter of 1456 to Pietro Nosetano, his travelling companion. A heavy shower falls obliquely from the fantastic masses of black and white cloud, and a rainbow descends on the right to the hill among the wooded crags of Talamone, with its battlemented walls, its fortress, its church, and the town-hall with its marble windows. The buildings are scattered about as in the panoramas of the period, and are coarsely painted by assistants, among whom was perhaps Matteo Balducci. As a whole, this fresco is of great richness and delicacy. It was the first completed by Pintoricchio in the Library, and was designed to give a sample of his powers to the Piccolomini family and the wardens of the Cathedral. It is also remarkable for the richness of its gilded stucco ornaments, which are much more lavishly used here than in any of the other frescoes. Here the brooches in the hats, the buckles of the girths, the bits, the handles of the daggers, etc., are treated with all the elaboration of goldsmith's work. In the green grass of the foreground ferns, poppies, daisies, and dandelions are carefully painted in a manner worthy of a pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

There is a large vertical crack to the right of the fresco, but otherwise it is in good condition. Indeed, the vivacity of the colour, its freshness and variety, are such that we are inclined to wish Time had laid a more subduing hand upon it. Dresses, cloaks, hats, and hose are of every tint; horses, white, black, roan. Fortunately, the greenish background of sea harmonises all these strong tones. The costumes have little historic interest; they are made of plain stuffs, without any special character of texture or design, such as the Venetians, and especially Carpaccio, loved, and this adds to the chromatic violence. The squared drawing in the Uffizi shows, as usual, notable variations on the painting, and has the following inscription on the top: "This is the story that sets forth how Messer Enea was in the suite of Messer Domenico da Capranica, who had



*Comans photo.*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI'S MISSION TO THE KING OF SCOTLAND

FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA





been made a Cardinal, although his election had not been made public, when the latter went to the Council of Basle, and having embarked at Porto di Talamone, and being about to enter that of Genoa, he was struck by a tempest and driven into the mouth of the Tiber." The various places are indicated with the words "Corsica, Sardigna, Genova, Talamone," and the Cardinal is indicated as "Domenicho da Capranicha." It is to be noted that the dog does not appear in the drawing; it was no doubt added in the painting because the empty space on the left was seen to be out of keeping with the crowded composition. But, as we have said, it is incorrectly represented as motionless.

\* \* \*

II. The next fresco takes us to an open loggia, beyond which is seen a mountainous country with trees and a large navigable river flowing to the sea. To the left a towered city slopes to the river, and higher, on an overhanging ridge, rises a castle; then more trees and crags, all very minutely rendered, and over-elaborate, but beautiful in their variety of detail, and their autumn tints of green, yellow, and red.

Under the loggia (which is supported on pillars of fine marbles and, instead of a vault, has a coffered ceiling with rosettes and bosses), Enea Silvio presents himself as the envoy of the Council of Basle to James of Scotland, to induce him to join with Charles VII. against the English, and to reinstate certain of his barons in their confiscated fiefs. James, a venerable old man with a long white beard and white hair, is seated on a throne, holding a small sceptre in his left hand, and wearing a helmet-shaped crown with upturned edges. He turns his head to Enea, who is classically draped in a dark red robe and a violet mantle with greenish lights upon it. His head, with long fair hair, is of great sweetness, but the profile is drawn with a hard black outline, which Raphael would never have used. The left hand, too, is not very correctly drawn, and is too long for Sanzio, whose hands are generally short. The arrangement of the folds, the hooked notches by which they are broken, the shape of the extremities, the technique of the whole figure, and the colour prove it unmistakably the work of Pintoricchio. It shows a certain affinity with the types of Raphael, but is far indeed from his delicate execution.

The two figures that flank the composition on either side (one seen from behind, the other almost in profile), striking two violent chords of green and blue heightened with gold, are also the work of Bernardino. Above the old man on the right is the figure of a youth (a drawing for which is in the Uffizi),\* also undoubtedly by the master's hand, as are the four figures near him, two on either side, and the old man on the opposite side between the King and Enea, the boy behind the latter, and the two youths, almost full face to the spectator, on either side of a Turk. All the less important heads in the background betray the hand of the assistant who worked on the first fresco in their poverty of drawing and banality of expression.

These begin on the right with a fierce profile projecting from the pilaster, and follow the line of the parapet behind in a serried row, showing a series of faces with coarsely

\* No. 1319<sup>F</sup>.—Franz Wickhoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der reproducirenden Künsten; Marcanton's Eintritt in der Kreis roemischer Künstler, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerb. Kaiserhauses* (year xx, Vienna, 1899). See also the review of this by Gino Fogolari in *L'Arte* (Rome, 1900), iii. pp. 141-143.

drawn beards, clumsy foreheads, expressionless eyes, hats badly set on the heads and in false perspective; they close on the left with another profile in a red sailor cap, and a woman gazing upwards, her head thrown back, not with Peruginesque grace, but with an ugly contortion.\*

\* \* \*

III. The third fresco, representing Frederick III. of Austria conferring the laurel crown of poet on Enea at Aix-la-Chapelle, seems out of harmony with those adjoining it, the figures being much smaller than in these, with the exception of the one in the centre of the foreground, which makes the point of departure for the perspective and the chromatic tones. The composition as a whole has passages of great beauty, especially in the architectonic background, and the grace of some of the figures; but it has a somewhat disconnected look, and an air of being made up of independent groups.†

Arm in arm with the figure above-mentioned, which is draped in a dark blue cloak, is a bearded man in a yellow gown, and in front of them kneels Enea, in a red robe. These three colours, laid on in broad planes, strike a somewhat strident chord. In addition to this, the sharp perspective gives the effect of exaggerated space between the legs of the figures, especially of the two in the middle. Flanking the foreground are three youths: two on the right, and one on the left, on the lower step of the throne. This last is as variegated as a parrot; he has pointed red shoes, a red cap with a yellow plume, a doublet of lighter red, green trunk-hose, a violet cloak shot with green, a rosy face and long fair curls. The profile and hair of this youth are an almost exact reproduction of the head of Enea in the preceding fresco, whereas the Enea of this third episode has a longer and less pleasing face. The eye rests at last with satisfaction on the rich robe of golden brocade worn by Frederick. He is seated on the throne, in profile, his long chestnut hair falling on his shoulders, and bends forward to place the wreath on the head of the youthful Enea. Other important figures are placed behind the old man in yellow, and above the two youths on the right; one turns his back to the spectator, the other, a type of great elegance, lays his hand on his sword. An elderly man in white behind him seems to have been placed there to give relief to the dark figures.

The remaining minor figures are divided into three groups, one gathered round the sovereign, another in the centre, a third on the right; all three show beautiful youthful faces and severe old ones, painted with a delicacy hardly inferior to the rest, so that one hesitates to pronounce them the work of assistants. One of these figures in the central group is painted, as we have said above, from a drawing by Raphael at Oxford.‡ In this, more than in any of the other scenes, the painter relied, not upon chiaroscuro and aerial perspective, but on variety of colour, to differentiate the figures, and on an excessive diminution of those somewhat in the background to convey the idea of space.

\* This fresco has peeled a little here and there, especially in Enea's mantle, and that of the man seen from behind on the left, who recalls a drawing in the Venice Sketch Book.

† The mediocre drawing in the Brera was made from, and not for, the fresco.

‡ This drawing was in the Ottley and Lawrence Collections. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Raffaello*, vol. i. p. 185, foot-note) discovered a study for it in a sheet of six heads in the Venice Sketch Book. We may call attention to six other heads of youthful warriors, no. 280 in the Uffizi, repeated in a weaker version in the Louvre. Muntz, *L'Arte italiana nel Quattrocento* (Milan, 1894), p. 299. Ad. Braun, *Catalogue Général* (Dornach, 1896), p. 500.



*Assisi, photo.*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI RECEIVES THE POET'S CROWN FROM FREDRICK III

FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA





He did not attempt to win anything from more subdued tints and decreased definition in the distant objects. The most distant figures in this fresco are rendered with as much minuteness and coloured as vividly as those in the foreground. Even the little figures on the steps and upon the loggia in the background, representing episodes of daily life, are strongly accentuated: a youth saluting a cavalier, two soldiers playing cards, an old woman with a distaff, carrying a basket on her head, and on the terrace above, women admiring a bouquet in a vase, a servant shaking a cloth at a window, and a husband beating his wife, as Pintoricchio may well have done, or wished to do!

But the building is magnificent in its rich Renaissance beauty, with the landscape seen through its five archways on the ground floor, and through an upper loggia with rooms and lateral terraces. Against the sky the usual hawk pounces on the usual duck.

\* \* \*

IV. Pintoricchio's drawing (formerly ascribed to Raphael) for the fresco representing Enea kneeling before Eugenius IV., to whom he had been sent by Frederick III., is at Chatsworth; in the principal figures it differs but little from the fresco. The only variation is that in the latter a number of subordinate figures are introduced behind the Cardinals.\* A drawing in the Malcolm Collection (attributed, as usual, to Raphael), and the drawing numbered 376 in the Uffizi have been accepted as partial studies for this fresco, whereas the latter is a study by Alessandro Araldi, and the other a bad copy for his fresco of the *Dispute of S. Catherine* in a cell of the monastery of S. Paolo at Parma. It is, however, obvious that Araldi, who was born at Parma and flourished there from 1460 to 1528, imitated Pintoricchio's composition in this fresco,† just as he imitated the master's grotesques in the vault of a room in the same monastery. Was Araldi ever in Siena? Was he perhaps one of Pintoricchio's assistants? His presence in his native city from 1503 to 1507 is not recorded in any existing documents. His work in the cell and the room above mentioned, and in the apse of S. Paolo were executed in 1510 and 1514. And we cannot suppose him to have got his notes and sketches of Pintoricchio's works in Siena from Michelangelo Anselmi, who came from Siena to Parma; for this took place after Araldi had finished his works. Whatever the explanation may be, no positive assertion can be made in the case of an artist who borrowed from every one, made use of the drawings and engravings of others, copied motives from Raphael, Mantegna, Leonardo, Francia, Costa, and, as we have now seen, from Pintoricchio.‡

In this fourth scene again the master seems to set harmony of colour at nought, and among the long array of Cardinals, seated as if round a choir, not one has robes of the same colour as his neighbour! To the right, one in a crimson gown is followed by one in purple; the next is in vermillion, the next in black, the next in violet. Those on the left lead off with black, and this is followed by vermillion, purple,

\* The drawing was published by Schmarsow as long ago as 1880. *Op. cit.*

† At Bergamo also there is a similar composition, with porticoes in the background, a throne in the centre, on which is seated S. Anthony and two lateral rows of seated figures. It is ascribed to Pintoricchio, but is a feeble work, certainly not by him, and perhaps by Matteo Balducci. Catalogue of Pictures in the Accademia Carrara (Bergamo, 1881), p. 91.

‡ Ricci, *Correggio* (London, 1896), pp. 147-48. *La Galleria di Parma* (Parma, 1896), pp. 111, 400, 403, 404.

another shade of black, etc. Neither has a single Cardinal a cap of the same colour as his robes, or as that worn by his neighbour. Nor is this all. The two prominent figures in the foreground, heavily draped in flowing robes of blue and lake respectively, showing an exaggerated use of the conventional hook-shaped folds, are seated on stools of different colours: the one in blue on a red bench, the one in red on a yellow bench. In this fresco there is yet another—I will not say defect, for it was a matter of the master's deliberate choice, but an unpleasant dissonance between the perspective of the Library itself, and that of the hall in which the scene is laid. Of the pilasters that divide each fresco from the next, we always see three sides, the front one, and the two lateral ones, since the painter elected that each picture should be looked at from in front, and here no fault can be found with his method. But when the perspective of these pilasters and their arches is seen to disagree with that adopted in the fresco, the spectator feels a sense of discomfort. This is the first fresco in which this happens, because in the others he has landscape backgrounds, or has kept the lines horizontal with buildings that face the spectator, so that none of them come laterally in contact with the foreshortened lines of the pilasters. Here, however, the lines of the bases of the pilasters, and of the lateral cornices, run forward to those of the enframing pilasters and counter to them, forming obtuse angles instead of blending into harmonious perspective, so much so that the spectator, standing in front of the fresco, feels as if a positive error of perspective had been committed, which is not the case; and this happens wherever we get an effect of lateral perspective, as in the sixth and seventh frescoes again.

But let us return to the figures arranged in two salient wings on the green carpet, and horizontally at the sides of the throne on which the Pope is seated, giving the benediction, the tiara on his head, his green mantle ornamented with the usual gold spots. The throne is of marble, but lined with red flowered material in the niche at the back. At the steps of the throne Enea, in a yellow robe streaked and studded with gold, kneels to kiss the Pontiff's foot; but, to show the profile of the face, and to get a better line for the figure, the painter has placed him to one side, instead of straight in front of the step.

Behind the Cardinals, among which perhaps are some portraits, and between the pilasters, are groups of men of every age, of every colour (that is to say, as regards their costume), and by every hand, save that of the master!

In the background there is another episode. Under a portico on the left Nicholas V. invests Enea, who has entered the Church, as Bishop. Beyond the arcade is a landscape with mountains and castles, halberdiers, and other figures.

\* \* \*

V. We now come to the most famous of the episodes. Enea, now Bishop of Siena, but still Chancellor of Frederick III., had been on a mission to Naples, to arrange the Emperor's marriage with Eleonora, daughter of the King of Portugal and niece of Alfonso, King of Naples, and to Rome, to solicit the papal benediction and the imperial crown for his master. Frederick came to Siena to receive his bride, who disembarked at





*Allori, photo.*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI'S MISSION FROM FREDERICK III TO EUGENIUS IV



Talamone. Their meeting at the Porta Camollia is thus described: "Eleonora, journeying from Pisa, approached Siena conducted by the Duke of Teschyn, Bishop Enea, and Baron Von Pottendorf, with his wife, of the great house of Liechtenstein, an embassy of the greatest distinction, and not less than five hundred persons. Orators from Bologna, Florence, Venice, and other parts of Italy had come to meet them and all Siena (where for six months past there had been no talk but of the Queen), impatient of further delay, had assembled to see the sight in the plain of Camollia, and the neighbouring fields. Never before or since was seen a sight more beautiful and splendid. Duke Albert rode out first to greet the bride, on a splendid charger, dressed in cloth of gold. Noble cavaliers, glistening from head to foot with rich ornaments, surrounded him, singing beautiful and joyous songs. Some way behind came King Ladislaus, a handsome youth with fair curling hair, bound only by a circlet of large pearls, which fell on his shoulders, and waved gracefully about them. His small figure was draped entirely in a mantle of cloth of gold studded with gems, and his horse's trappings were of embroidered silk. The youths of his suite were apparelled after a similar fashion. But the most marvellous to see was the Emperor, surrounded by servants who made way for their lord with staves tipped with fleur-de-lis. An elegant page carried the imperial sword in a splendid sheath before him. He rode a black horse, with a Cardinal in purple robes on either side of him, and, rising in his golden stirrups, showed his person all covered with gold. He was followed by a crowd of barons and knights in raiment of every colour, dresses of satin, damask, and velvet, embroidered with gold and striped with various trimmings. The cavalcade assembled on the plain of Camollia, and was there joined on the one side by the clergy with the processional banner, and on the other by the lords of the administration in long cloaks with a hundred mace-bearers with painted and tasselled maces, trumpets, and other instruments. Opposite were the twenty-five men of letters, the scholars of the university and all the colleges of the arts, and no fewer than four hundred Sienese ladies. A cry of joy rising from one point of the plain to the other set all this immense and varied multitude in motion. There was great waving of mantles, banners and pennons, accompanied by the blare of trumpets and the beating of drums, a flashing and fluttering of draperies, robes, clasps, girdles, of straps, collars, and girths on the horses. The noble traveller had made her appearance. Priests, nobles, burghers, ladies, cavaliers, sallied forth as far as Santa Petronilla to do homage to her. The Emperor remained waiting a few steps inside the third gate, but when he saw her approaching, fair as a flower in all the bloom of her sixteen years, he sprang to the ground, and when she, too, descended, their hands met and they embraced. Enea Piccolomini, who was looking at her with much complacency, has described the beauty of her appearance. Of medium stature, with an open forehead, dark, vivacious eyes, a small mouth, a brightly tinted complexion, a snowy neck, all was absolutely perfect. She wore a little hat of black fur, and the hood beneath did not so completely hide her hair but that it was seen to be very fair. A long chain of leaves wrought in gold hung from her neck across her bosom and encircling her waist, fastened on the hip with a large ruby. Over a petticoat of cloth of gold fell the long and ample folds of a brocaded robe." \*

\* Luigi Fumi and Alessandro Lisini, *L'Incontro di Federico III. Imperatore, con Eleonora di Portogallo* (Siena, 1878), pp. 22-24.



Pintoricchio, of course, did not restrict himself to the rich costumes described above, but introduced others of his own period in his own taste, and, further, inserted portraits of friends and contemporaries, of which we shall speak presently.

Frederick, who preserves the type given him in the third fresco, advances eagerly to Eleonora, clasping her right hand in his, and laying his left hand affectionately on her shoulder. His crown is blue, with gold reliefs, and his hair falls from beneath it in rich curls on the violet scarf drawn round his shoulders. His rich robe of golden tissue is brocaded with the large pattern so much affected at the period. From his left shoulder hangs his mantle of violet silk shot with dark green and gold. He wears red hose and gold shoes with red sandals. The bride is dressed in a red gown worked with fine gold threads, green sleeves slashed with white, and a mantle of gold brocade, of much the same design as that worn by Frederick, which is held up behind her by a little girl, who throws up her head and eyes in true Peruginesque languor. Eleonora inclines her head timidly; her chestnut hair is gathered into a net behind; in her left hand she holds her handkerchief.

Enea, in his episcopal vestments, white robes and a blue chasuble bordered with gold, a white mitre studded with gems on his head,\* bends his head complacently towards the Emperor, and, laying his hand on Eleonora's left shoulder, draws her towards Frederick.

Behind these figures there are several portraits, notably that of Aringhieri, with the cross of the Knights of Rhodes on his breast, in a dark blue gown with a black stole at his neck, and a black cap. The modelling of this head has been very carefully elaborated. Behind him is one of the familiar youthful heads, thrown back and gazing upwards, and near it another portrait, in which some persons would have us see Andrea di Nanni Piccolomini Todeschini, brother of Pius III. He is dressed in black, and has a beardless, and very individual face. Against his black mantle the fair hair and complexion, and the white neck and chest of an imposing female figure, stand out in strong relief. The features and the costume show this also to be a portrait. Her hair is parted in the middle and gathered closely to her head, save for two light, thin tresses that hang from her temples on either side of her face. She is a woman of a somewhat rigid type, with an aquiline nose, a large, straight mouth, and almond-shaped eyes with a certain severity of expression. Her white bodice has dark horizontal stripes, her gown and mantle are of dark material embroidered with gold, her sleeves red and yellow. In her hand, on which are several rings in relief, she carries her handkerchief. She is supposed, with much probability, to be Agnese di Gabriele Francesco Farnese, wife of the Andrea Piccolomini above mentioned. It is said of her that, "in her husband's adversities, she proved herself a woman of good counsel and sound sense. Devoted to her family, she tenderly loved her sons, whom she was anxious to see settled in life before she died. The historians relate that Pandolfo Petrucci, then tyrant of Siena, being very anxious to ally himself with rich and powerful families, almost used violence to bring about the marriage of her daughter, Vittoria, with his son, Borghese, his destined successor at Siena. But the mother, remembering the rivalry between Pandolfo and her husband, Andrea, and unable to brook the arrogance of the Petrucci, and grieving

\* The gems on the mitre and the clasp on Eleonora's shoulder are pieces of cut looking-glass. Her red gown is badly repaired at the bottom, and the bandeau of gilded stucco across her forehead has fallen off.



*A. uari, p. 10*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI PRESENTS ELEONORA OF PORTUGAL TO FREDERICK III

FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENNA

2 B





greatly thereat, died shortly after this marriage, on October 8, 1509."\* In the Beattie Collection at Glasgow, there is a portrait of this same lady; in fact, a replica of this portrait, save for slight variations in the dress. She wears the same gown, but has no mantle, while round her neck is a string of pearls from which hangs a jewel. It appears to be a portrait copied from that in the fresco by some pupil of Pintoricchio's, with much delicacy, though with considerable coldness.

Other graceful female figures, of no special individuality, among them a nun, are grouped behind her. Against the pilaster stands a fair young woman, dressed in a variety of pale colours, a gown of shot blue and white and a pink mantle. Her hair is plaited in a long golden net that hangs down her back almost to the ground. But this figure does not stand the test of close examination, and is certainly one of the most ill-drawn ever executed by the master. The folds in the mantle are conventional and improbable, and the very small head is awkwardly inclined on a thin, rigid, and very ugly neck, set into an enormous shoulder.

Behind the Emperor is an escort of horsemen. The first of them, standing beside a black horse, combines all the crudest colours of the palette in his attire; in the dresses of the other knights and gentlemen shot stuffs of quieter tints prevail, among horses of every colour, advancing from either side towards the centre, where rises the commemorative column set up in honour of this event immediately afterwards, near the Porta Camollia, and introduced by Pintoricchio with anachronistic licence.

The master seems to me to have done much of the work in this fresco himself, but the execution of the heavy and somewhat coarse and ill-drawn minor figures of dark-skinned halberdiers, scattered about at the sides of the column, was certainly confided to other hands, as was also that of the other little figures in the background that enliven the approach to the Castellaccia, which rises about a hundred metres from the ancient Porta Camollia. On the intervening space three tall trees spring almost to the top of the fresco. Beside the Castellaccia is the little Church of San Basilio, built in 1234, and demolished, with the Castellaccia, in 1554.† Behind is a view of Siena with its Cathedral, the "Facciataone," the tower of the Piazza, and all around, little



PORTRAIT OF AGNESE PICCOLOMINI  
BEATTIE COLLECTION, GLASGOW

\* A. Lisini, *Lettere di Agnese Farnese Piccolomini* (Siena, 1887), pp. 5, 6. See also Pompeo Litta in the *Famiglie celebri d'Italia: Famiglia Piccolomini-Todeschini of Siena*.

† G. A. Pecci, *Raccolta universale di tutte le Iscrizioni*, &c., iii, fol. 118. Lisini, *Le Tavole dipinte di Biccherina e di Gabella per R. Archivio di Stato in Siena* (Siena, 1901), no. 54, of 1528. The Castellaccia, with the Church of S. Basilio adjoining it, also appears in a painting by Lorenzo Cini in S. Martino at Siena, representing the Battle of Camollia in 1525.

slender trees, painted carefully and lightly; beyond is the faint blue outline of distant mountains.

VI. A determination to see the hand of Raphael in the preceding frescoes is perhaps the sole reason why the sixth scene has been pronounced less beautiful and important. From the realistic point of view it is of especial excellence, as the composition is not divided into so many studied groups, but depicts a real crowd in all its complexity of effect. We are in a chapel with bare plain walls, and two windows at the end. The coffered ceiling, however, is enriched with gilded rosettes in relief, made with scrupulous regard to correctness of perspective. The perspective of the monochrome cornices is also well understood and correctly carried out. The altar is surmounted by a baldachin of red and green with cords and ornaments of gold, and draped with a frontal of rich gold brocade, with a large conventional pattern, of the same design as Eleonora's mantle. In a rich frame above is a picture of the Madonna and Child between SS. Andrew and James the Greater, and here we note a detail showing thought and taste on the part of the master. He has made the altar-piece (which is painted by an assistant) vague and indefinite in outline, to differentiate it, and give it the look of a picture. The saints are broadly indicated without any minutiae of execution, and are thus distinguished from the figures in the crowd below. The pavement is too light in tone, and the two red patches made by the robes of the two Cardinals on either side of the foreground are not agreeable to the eye, but the heads and hands of these are executed with the usual delicacy, as are those of the seated figures beyond them, the draperies of which are somewhat damaged. Some figures of men and youths standing behind the Cardinals who are seated near the altar, are graceful as ever. Standing beside the altar is a fine figure in dark red with a cloak turned back with fur.

To the left, under a red baldachin with green curtains worked with gold, on a carved throne, sits Calixtus III., wearing the tiara, white robes and gloves, and a green mantle richly embroidered with gold. His thin face, seen in sharp profile, is carefully modelled, the accidents of skin and muscles being carefully rendered. He places the cardinal's hat on the head of Enea, who kneels before him on the first step of the throne, his beautiful hands folded. His face shows the marks of approaching age. His robes, a strong red in colour, fall about him in folds more elegant and natural than usual.

At the end of the chapel, beyond the altar, is a crowd of figures, in which we recognise the work of the same assistants who helped the master from the beginning. They are characterised by the same defects and the same technique. But Pintoricchio has skilfully veiled them in a penumbra that conveniently conceals the faulty construction of all these heads, and throws into stronger relief the personages of the foreground, where we have, as usual, two figures larger than the rest, seen respectively from behind and sideways, and serving as the point of departure for the perspective and the tonality of the picture.

VII. Still more crowded than the preceding composition is that representing Enea's election to the Papacy under the title of Pius II. The perspective of the Lateran Basilica, apart from the shock one receives at first from the manner in which it contradicts that of the simulated pilasters enframing it, is well carried out, and gives an excellent pictorial result, with the light that pierces through the columns, and the transparent shadow in the upper part of the nave and apse, relieved by the glint of the mosaics in



*Acqua's Photo.*

ENEA PICCOLOMINI MADE A CARDINAL BY CALIXTUS III

FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA







*Alinari, photo*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI ELECTED POPE  
FRESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA





the semi-dome behind the altar, representing the Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul, against a gold background. The marble shrine on four porphyry columns that rests on the altar with its gold-studded frontal is also low in tone, and the crowd that invades the nave is kept in penumbra, so that the fresco affords a certain amount of repose to the eye in comparison with the others. This crowd is parted by the procession of Cardinals going to the altar, who are seen from behind, with the exception of the first, who turns to look at the Pope. A pleasant chord is struck in the low-toned harmony by the white line of mitres, the infulas of which break the embroidered surfaces of the copes of various colours. The usual mania for contrast of colour is shown in the figures of the foreground, almost the only ones in which the master's own handiwork is recognisable. He it was who painted the young Bishop who turns to look with gentle eyes at the Pope, his yellowish complexion slightly tinged with red, the two figures on the right who assist with decorative indifference at the ceremony, and the fine figure of the Prior in a white surplice, who kneels and presents the lighted tow on a cane. The profile of his face with its crown of white hair, his neck, and his ears are modelled with sculpturesque thoroughness.

Other notable figures, either in part or altogether, are the two that hold the staves of the canopy with the Piccolomini arms, and those who bear the *Sedia Gestatoria* with its carved griffins and *putti*. But here we are confronted with the usual intemperance of colour. Not one of these prelates is dressed like another, and never throughout these frescoes do we get the effect of a band of figures clothed alike, a motive which makes such a fine impression in the works of Carpaccio, Gentile Bellini, and others, and affords opportunities for such pleasing contrasts. Here Pintoricchio relies upon variety of colour for brilliance and vivacity. An ecclesiastic near the pilaster is dressed in violent red, the one in front of him in pink, the one opposite in violet; one of the men who bears the canopy has a robe of dark blue, the other shot draperies of green and purple. These last two, who face the spectator, in a manner not in accordance with their action, look like portraits.

The Pope, seated on the uplifted chair, wears a blue mantle embroidered in gold, a white robe and gloves, and the tiara. He looks old and suffering, with dark circles round his eyes, and protruding lips closely compressed.

On the whole, this fresco, with the quieter tones of the various colours and its position in a gentle light, a good way from the windows, is one of the most temperate and harmonious of the series.

VIII. Eneas holds a council at Mantua to consider the crusade against the Turks. History tells us that Lodovico Gonzaga took Pius II. from Ferrara to Mantua by water in costly ships, by way of the Po, the Mincio, and the Mantuan lakes. With a little good will we may suppose this expanse of water in the background to represent one of the lakes at the mouth of the Mincio. But what are all these mountains round Mantua?

We must not, however, look for topographical exactness in these landscapes. A more serious matter is the great inferiority of this fresco to all the rest, both in composition and execution. Under a loggia supported on carved pilasters ornamented with candelabra, which occupies the centre of the picture, is set the papal throne. A balustrade draped with a *verdure* tapestry, which has peeled off slightly here and there,

extends from the throne across the centre of the loggia. The Pope, a heavy figure in a blue mantle, has a fine head. He discusses the question at issue, marking off the first point on his thumb. Confronting him, at a table with books and an hour-glass, stands a bare-headed old man, dressed in a purple gown with a red hood, who repeats the gesture, accepting the conclusion. All the rest are mere spectators. Of the four in the foreground, two are standing, and two seated, with their backs to the spectator, as the painter often placed such figures. They hold open books in their hands, but their eyes are fixed on the Pontiff. The profiles are turned laboriously to the spectator, doing considerable violence to the heads. The colours are, as usual, strident.

Standing against the left pilaster, however, is a carefully drawn figure of a man in a yellow gown over a red under-dress, with a gold necklace and a turban. His face and hands are rich with opalescent reflections. Beyond the Pope are three seated Cardinals, in somewhat doubtful perspective, and two who confront the spectator, with very individual faces. Near the old man who is arguing are some other figures painted by the master; behind, and beyond the balustrade, the usual coarsely executed supernumeraries by the assistants, for we do not certainly agree with those who assign the whole of this fresco to disciples, showing that they have never examined it thoroughly, in the manner necessary for the formation of a correct opinion. It contains fine passages, and the defects to be noted in it, if more serious in degree, do not differ in kind from those pointed out in the other episodes.

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IX. The fresco of the Canonisation of S. Catherine of Siena has two separate planes; it therefore is clearer than and rather different in composition to several of the others which also represent a concourse of persons, and this Pintoricchio must have had in his mind when he painted it, and not, as some have supposed, the avoidance of slight difficulties of perspective. In the lower part are gathered a crowd of gentlemen, prelates, monks and friars, while above them, on a raised platform, are the Pope, the Cardinals, and other churchmen, and, in the centre, the recumbent figure of the dead Saint. The perspective is obtained by horizontal lines confronting the spectator, and, consequently, does not conflict with that of the exterior pilasters. Against an ancient fragment of the crumbling, moss-grown city-wall rises a little temple with small ornate pilasters,\* the frieze bordered with wreaths of foliage, and a fluttering fringe of banners with armorial bearings. The Pope is seated on a simple and elegant wooden throne; he raises his right hand in benediction, laying his left upon a book. He wears the tiara, white robes, and a blue mantle bordered with gold, and bends his venerable head to gaze at the pallid face of S. Catherine, who lies at the foot of the throne on a low couch covered with a blue drapery. She is dressed in white with a black mantle; in her hands (on which, as on her bare feet, gleam the rays of the stigmata) she holds a lily. The Cardinals seated on either side of the throne with books and tapers are dressed in various tones of red, and very delicately painted. Two others, their figures projecting from the pilasters, close the scene at the sides. Behind these figures, against the dark blue flowered background, are other figures less lightly executed.

\* It is on these pilasters that the name "Bimbo" is repeated. He is supposed to have been a Roman, hence, as we have seen, the interpretation of the letters B. R. as Bimbo Romano.



*Alinari, photo.*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI HOLDS A COUNCIL AT MANTUA

Fresco in the Cathedral Library, Siena







*Alinari, photo.*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI CANONISES S. CATHERINE OF SIENA

Fresco in the Cathedral Library, Siena





In the crowd below light tints predominate, their brilliance heightened by the presence among them of two or three black monastic habits. Nearly all these figures are seen from behind, with the heads turned a little to show the faces. Some of them, therefore, seem more intent on pictorial exigencies than on the canonisation! On the right a Dominican advances, in profile; behind him is a Benedictine, all in white, with a light cloak that falls in small folds. The two central figures, turning their backs to the spectator, are draped in a variety of light colours, not very pleasing to the eye. To the left, in attitudes that mark them as portraits, wearing elaborate multi-coloured costumes and carrying tapers, are the two figures generally accepted as Pintoricchio himself and the youthful Raphael; but if the latter somewhat resembles the recognised type, the former differs very greatly from the well authenticated portrait of the master in the fresco at Spello. Behind them, among a group of monks, are two or three followers of S. Catherine, distinguished by their black cowls.

Gilding and stuccoes are very sparingly used in this fresco. There are only a few golden studs on the books, in some of the hats, in the aureole of the Saint, the robes of the Pope, and the baldaquin.

X. Eneas falls ill at Ancona, whither he had come to await the arrival of the Venetian fleet, which, with the Doge Cristoforo on board, was setting out for the Eastern expedition. But the Pope had barely time to receive and greet the Venetian ruler, for, on the night after the arrival, he grew rapidly worse, and died. In the background is the port of Ancona, the bay with its surrounding mountains, and the fleet with sails all set. To the right, on Mount Dorico, is the city with the church of S. Ciriaco on the summit, palaces, houses, etc. The topography is correct, but it is not possible to identify the various buildings. The Mole below is fortified with towers and battlemented walls with machicolations. On the Mole is the Arch of Trajan, reduced to proportions suitable to the composition, like S. Ciriaco. In the canal inside the Mole the Doge's great vessel advances, manned by a crowd of sailors. All the fortifications are accurately rendered, if not with absolute correctness of perspective, and at the city gates a certain animation is given to the scene by groups of little figures. Slightly to the left of the centre rises a lofty cypress with a trunk bare for three-quarters of its height, and forming a tuft of dark foliage in the lunette. It divides the compositions into two nearly equal parts. Two great birds follow each other across the sky.

On the *Sedia*, borne by several men, sits the Pope; his head and neck are modelled with a certain amount of anatomical precision, but the rest of his figure is stiff and rigid. As usual, he wears white robes and gloves and a blue mantle, with gold ornaments, but here they are not of gilded stucco in relief, but simply painted. Below the level of the *Sedia* the green transparent water of the channel strikes a chromatic note of great beauty. Of the four bearers, three are beardless youths in sentimental attitudes, but with attractive faces, painted with all the sweetness of Pintoricchio's best heads. The fourth is a fair bearded man, with a florid complexion.

Kneeling in the foreground are two important figures. One to the left, seen almost from behind, wears an ample robe of gold brocade, trimmed with ermine on the sleeves, and an ermine cape. It is the Doge Cristoforo Moro, who has arrived with the Venetian fleet. Bald, save for a fringe of hair, white like his beard, he turns his head with a certain awkwardness and effort, but the face is as pleasing, even under the

disadvantages due to the conventional modelling, as those of the two old gentlemen in attendance on him are hard and repellent. On the other hand, the figure of the slim page who stands behind the Doge and holds his ermine bordered cap, is of the utmost grace and beauty. His delicious head is so much of the type of Raphael's, that it is strange no sentimental art historian has pronounced it a portrait of Raphael as a child!

Opposite kneels a wealthy Levantine, in a green robe, a blue under-dress, red shoes, a shot scarf, and a large white turban with a sequined crown. He holds up his right hand, and shows a face in sharp profile with no very realistic features, resembling that of the supposed Djem in the Borgia Rooms! Behind him is another figure also derived from the Borgia Rooms, or rather from Gentile Bellini's drawing, that of the Turk who stands on one side of the Emperor's throne in the *Dispute of S. Catherine*, but he is differently coloured, wearing a white turban, a yellow gown with vertical stripes, a striped scarf twisted round his waist, a mantle of strong red, green hose, and reddish shoes turned up in points. Behind him is another group of figures with many youths, and the conventional heads of old men, which Pintoricchio henceforth repeated in a cold and mechanical manner, so much so, that, to speak plainly, an examination of the various details of this fresco, which, as a whole, is rich and gay in effect, becomes somewhat wearisome.

\* \* \*

The inner wall of the Cathedral\* in which is the door giving access to the Library, is very richly decorated, with its admirable carved ornament by Macrina, its bronze grille by Ormanni, and Pintoricchio's great fresco of *The Coronation of Pius III.*, a work less well preserved than those inside the Library, but consequently less strident, the colour being subdued by a veil laid upon it by dust, by the greasy smoke of tapers and incense, and by the subdued light that reigns in the aisle.† This teeming composition, which contains many figures and motives that reappear with slight variations in the series described above, may be likened to a symphony preceding an opera, and summing up its principal themes. Like the *Canonisation of S. Catherine*, it is divided into two planes: the Pope and his Court above; the crowd below. Among the figures we note two youths on the right almost identical with those in a similar position in the third fresco; near them is a man in red seen from behind, whom we may find, with slight variations, in the third and sixth frescoes. The elegant youth on his right, looking at the spectator, differs little from the one in the first fresco; the bishop holding the mitre by the side of the Pope is also in the sixth fresco; the group of two old men conversing, immediately behind the dog, has its counterpart in the two behind the table, in the eighth; the bas-relief in monochrome under the inscription is like that below the pilasters in the Library, with combats of marine deities. Many other heads are repeated, but we need not insist on facts so patent.

The Pope, who is modelled in stucco, in high relief, and wears white robes, a gilded mantle and the papal cap, is seated under a canopy, between a prelate who has removed

\* Alfonso Landi, *Racconto delle Pitture*, &c., pp. 86-90.

† In the State Archives of Siena there is a little panel representing the Coronation of Paul III. (1534), the painter of which imitated this fresco of Pintoricchio's.



*Assisi photo*

ENEAS PICCOLOMINI AT ANCONA

FRANCESCO IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENNA





the mitre from his head, and another who is about to place the tiara upon it. The latter is painted, but his right hand is in relief, and comes out of the fresco, a device necessary to allow of his bringing the tiara (also in relief) over the head of the Pope, which is modelled in the round, and comes completely out of the painting.

This simple group of three persons is placed in the arch of a loggia, and confronts the spectator, between two pilasters with candelabra in relief, and the papal arms at the bases.

In the two lateral balconies of the loggia (on the stylobates of which are the arms of Piccolomini and Aragon, quartered), are the Cardinals, in rich vestments and white mitres, treated with the usual variety of colour and of stucco ornament. They are in very bad condition on the left.

On the lower plane the painter seems to have represented a crowd collected on an open piazza. Two halberdiers with cudgels appear to be parting the crowd, to keep a way in the centre. The trumpeters, on horseback, in picturesque costumes with black, white, and red stripes, blow their instruments lustily; opposite to them stand the pipers; ladies, gentlemen, cavaliers, monks, nuns, and children press forward from every side. In all this concourse we may pick out a few portraits. To the right is a group of women who seem to show very personal traits of feature and costume. A smiling lady advances in profile, holding up her pink gown, which is relieved by a white chemisette with black lacets, black sleeves slashed with white, and a thin white veil. In front of her is another lady, with her head slightly inclined; she wears a red mantle and a large necklace. Two or three young girls with white veils stand near a youth who has hoisted a little boy on his shoulders to give him a good view of the sight. Among the more distant figures, too, are several individual heads. Near an old man, who recalls Perugino, is a woman with long hair hanging on her shoulders and a double necklace round her throat. Two very well painted figures appear in the front row, one a fair, bearded man with a sword, in a short tunic of brocade belted at the waist, the other a fair youth who steps forward, his fingers covered with rings, and the chain of knighthood across his breast.

On the side where are the trumpeters we note other types that have all the character of portraits. The beardless face of a monk, with a satisfied expression, is turned to the spectator. A group of youths, perhaps gay and audacious students, are kept in check by the guard, who stands in the bold attitude of the angel in the Sistine *Journey of Moses*, though with less nobility of pose. In the foreground are three figures somewhat blurred and damaged; one, a richly dressed man with a long grey beard, preceded by a brown dog; another, a man with a chestnut beard, holding up his gloved right hand; and the third, a gaily attired halberdier.

For the identification of all these personages we have nothing but hypothesis to guide us. The only thing certain is, that one of the two youths in the foreground on the right belonged to the Piccolomini family, for on one leg of his hose he has the five crescent moons. It is, however, difficult to say which he was of the two sons of Andrea and Agnese, Pier Francesco or Alessandro, who were of about his age at the time. Perhaps the two charming little figures represent the two brothers, but neither is to be identified with Giovanni, born in 1475, who was over thirty when Pintoricchio painted the fresco.

In the solemn bearded man preceded by the dog, some persons have recognised Pandolfo Petrucci. Indeed, Tizio says the "red dog" was his\* but he does not add that the Magnifico himself was represented, and it seems unlikely, taking into account the enmity then subsisting between him and the Piccolomini. Thus we see that here again, when it is a question of finding portraits, and identifying the originals, we can only grope among conjectures and uncertainties.

\* Vermiglioli, Appendix, p. lxiv.





*Manz, photo*

ENEAS (II) PICCOLOMINI CROWNED AS POPE PIUS III

FRESCO OVER THE DOOR OF THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA



## CHAPTER IX

### THE MASTER'S LAST YEARS AND LAST WORKS

AT SPELLO ONCE MORE—EUSEBIO DI SAN GIORGIO—THE ASSUMPTION AT NAPLES—  
PANDOLFO PETRUCCI AND HIS PALACE—THE VAULT OF THE CHOIR OF S. MARIA DEL  
POPOLO, ROME—PINTORICCHIO'S FAMILY—HIS LAST WORKS—HIS CHARACTER—HIS  
MELANCHOLY END

HIS monumental work at Siena had obliged Pintoricchio to confide almost the entire execution of the picture for S. Andrea at Spello to Eusebio di San Giorgio. Indeed, of the one hundred and sixty ducats agreed upon as payment, Pintoricchio consented to make over one hundred to his assistant. The two documents bearing on the matter are dated March 1507. In them the master speaks of his disciple as "my Eusebio," and continues thus: "The said Eusebio promises to finish the said picture entirely at his own expense," and in accordance with "the design I made therefor in small, which is in the keeping of Tomaso Corbo of Spello, and there is therein Our Lady with her Babe on a seat, and landscapes all round her, and in one corner a S. Louis and a S. Andrew, and in the other S. Francis and S. Lawrence, and at her feet a S. John, all which are drawn in that panel." He adds that Eusebio is to provide him with everything, when he comes to Spello "to finish the principal heads," as he had bound himself to do. Further, if the churchwardens will agree thereto, Eusebio shall also paint the small subjects for the predella, in which case he, Bernardino, will furnish the designs for these. "And the said Eusebio promises to make the aforesaid figures in this picture with ornaments of gold and with ultramarine and other colours, and to paint histories in the predella, and to pay for the wood in full, that is to say, what was still due to the carpenter, save that I agree to lend him a room to live in until the said picture is finished. And the said Eusebio agrees to begin it in April next, 1507, and not to leave it till it is finished." He makes an exception to this last clause in favour of "a little picture he has in his workshop at Perugia."\*

This pronoun "my" applied to Eusebio seems to me to indicate a continuity of co-operation, at least during the time when Bernardino was working in the Library.

\* Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte senese*, pp. 390-391. See, for this picture, Giulio Urbini, *Le Opere d'Arte di Spello (Archivio storico dell' Arte)*, x. pp. 18-21. Severino Servanzi-Collio, *Una Tavola del Pintoricchio in Spello* (Sanseverino, 1846), and *Giornale scientifico letterario di Perugia*, number for July-September, 1846. Mariotti, *op. cit.* p. 222. Morelli and Cavalcaselle, *Catalogue* already quoted, in the *Gallerie Nazionali*, ii. p. 274; and all Pintoricchio's biographers.



Certain precious documents have further shown that Pintoricchio not only made the "little design" for the picture, but that he drew the figures on the panel itself.

Urbini adds: "For the ornaments in this picture Pintoricchio had the assistance either of Gian Battista Caporali, or, more probably, of that Giovanni di Francesco Ciambella, called *Fantasia*, who helped Perugino in the Exchange at Perugia, as we gather from a somewhat ambiguous passage in the deeds of Rainaldo di Bartolomeo in the notarial archives of Perugia."\* The picture, without the predella, which has disappeared,† is still in the Church of S. Andrea at Spello over the altar to the right of the transept. It was removed for the space of four years (1811-1815), during which time it remained in the Museum of the Capitol, in constant peril of being carried off to Paris.

As a whole it is a feeble work, especially in colour. Against a valley sloping to the sea is set a wooden throne, the lateral pilasters, frieze, pediment, and base ornamented with gold on a blue ground. The Madonna holds the Child upright upon her lap, and He clasps her neck with His left arm, seizing her veil with His right hand, and looking back in an attitude almost identical with that in Lord Crawford's picture. Above, on either side of the throne, are two seraphim and an angel with clasped hands, running upon clouds.

To the left, S. Louis of Toulouse, in his mantle with golden fleurs-de-lis, and his white mitre with gold ornaments, holds his pastoral staff in his arms, and folds his gloved and jewelled hands together, inclining his gentle head, which, like those of the Virgin and Child (though not those of the angels), is certainly by the master, in spite of its being somewhat languid and flat in modelling. Beside him stands S. Andrew; his head is somewhat tame, his hands and feet are coarse and hard. He holds a book and a gilded cross. The S. Francis and the S. Lawrence are extremely feeble; even their Pintoricchiesque faces are insignificant. The latter, however, makes a decorative effect in his gorgeous dalmatic, embroidered with the scene of his own martyrdom, and the Resurrection of Christ.

On the step of the throne sits a plump and rosy little S. John, draped in a tunic of dark fur and a mantle. He writes the *Ecce Agnus Dei* on his scroll; the inkstand and the pen-case lie on the step beside him. In front of him is a stool, and upon it a seal, a small knife, a pair of scissors, an open letter, and a closed one, which is perhaps the same, repeated in order to show this superscription: "Eximio viro pictori digniss<sup>o</sup>. Magistro Bernardino Perrusino alias el Pintoricchio nobis car<sup>mo</sup>." On the open sheet we read: "Eximie pictor nobis cariss. havemo recepute lettere de la M. S. de Panniolfo Petruccio da Siena in la quale ce exorta ad volervi adiutar in ogni vostro bisogno pregando nui vi vogliamo exortare allo retornar li da lui. Nui desiderosi compiaceri S. M. S. carissmenti vi pregamo allo ritornari per compiaceri in tucto li Signori; del che anche farite piaceri singularissimo: offerendomi ad voi per amori de S. M. & votro paratiss<sup>o</sup> da tucti li V. comodi et bene valeti. Ex arce nostra prope Mansionem ‡ die xxiiii aprilis MDVIII. Gentiles Balionus Electus Urbevetanus."

\* *Op. cit.* p. 20.

† In the Brera at Milan (Oggioni Collection) there is a predella corresponding in manner and dimensions to the Spello picture. It represents the *Birth of the Virgin*, her *Marriage*, and her *Assumption*. In the *Birth* there is a woman on the left with a vase on her head, taken from the drawing made by Pintoricchio for one of the figures in the *Journey of Moses* in the Sistine Chapel.

‡ Perhaps Rocca di Zocco.

Pintoricchio, having finished the paintings in the Library, had gone to Spello according to his compact, to paint the heads in the S. Andrea picture. There he received the invitation, or rather the solicitations of Petrucci (transmitted to him by Gentile Baglioni), begging him to return to Siena, and undertake the decoration of a room in the Petrucci palace, of which we shall speak presently.

A round panel, with the figure of the risen Saviour, set into the front of the pulpit in this same church, is said to have originally formed the summit of the picture. In manner it corresponds to the altar-piece, and the conjecture is therefore probable, though no mention is made of such an adjunct in the very detailed documents relating to the work. But the richness of the frame, and the adaptation of the picture to the place it was to occupy, may have determined this addition at the last moment.

The Redeemer raises His right hand in benediction and holds the banner in His left. His red robe floats out behind His shoulders, making a background. The restorations have been very extensive here, but the head with its sleek hair seems to be the work of a pupil.



Alinari, photo.

VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED, WITH SAINTS  
CHURCH OF SANT ANDREA, SPELLO

\* \* \*

To this period when Eusebio was collaborating with the master, we must also assign the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Naples Museum, into which it passed from the Church of Monte Oliveto. Its pedigree is of respectable antiquity, for it dates back to Vasari,\* who correctly states that it was in the chapel of Paolo Tolosa, a rich merchant and banker, who flourished in Naples at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Madonna, a very tall figure, resembling the Virgin of the *Coronation* in the

\* Vol. iii. p. 500. Celano, *Notizie di Napoli* (Naples, 1692), vol. iii. p. 319. Ildebrando Bonucci, *Un Opera di Bernardino Pintoricchio*, in *Arte e Storia*, year x. (1891) p. 77. Pascoli (p. 40), on the strength of this picture, sends Pintoricchio to Naples, and says, "he executed various works there!"

Vatican, stands upon the clouds with clasped hands, in a starry mandorla studded with seraph-heads and flanked by six angels, praying or playing musical instruments: Below stand the twelve Apostles, with the exception of S. Thomas, who kneels in the centre, radiant in his shot yellow mantle, with the Virgin's girdle in his clasped hands. An austere S. Peter holds the keys; S. Paul raises the sword; others throw back their heads, foreshortened in the Peruginesque fashion. A wide valley opens in the background, between mountains, on which are ornate temples and fortified towns.

That this picture came from Pintoricchio's workshop: that it is his in conception, in composition, in design, in spirit, we do not hesitate to say; but we are as fully persuaded that little or none of it was actually painted by him. The heads, with the exception of those of the Madonna and of S. Paul, are not his types, but of a more languid cast, and more closely modelled upon those of Perugino. The coarse and clumsy extremities, the heavy folds of the draperies, even the form of the trees in the background reveal the hand of a disciple.

Camillo Guerra nevertheless maintained that Pintoricchio was the painter of the frescoes in the said Tolosa Chapel, from which the whitewash was removed in 1865,\* but Gustavo Frizzoni showed, some time ago, that they are feeble and unimportant works which give "many indications of being simply an imitation of his manner." †

\*   \*   \*

We have several times mentioned Pandolfo Petrucci, without stopping to give any account of him. Born in 1450 of parents of very humble origin, his audacity, astuteness, and firmness gave him such prominence in the affairs of his time during the conflicts that agitated Tuscany and the Church under Alexander VI., that he became the arbiter of the Sienese republic. ‡

Among the maxims ascribed to him are the following: To the prince who can take all you have, it is well to give the portion he demands.—There is no longer any place for laws; the men who made them can unmake them.—Everything must yield to strength; hence it is well to yield to necessity. We need hardly wonder, that having met with strong opposition from his father-in-law, Nicola Borghese, he had him murdered, and so great was the terror he inspired that this crime procured his supremacy, and the subjection of his countrymen. At first an ally of Cesare Borgia, he conspired against him at La Magione, but without falling into the Sinigaglian ambush, which cost Oliverotto da Fermo, Paolo Orsini, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and the Duke of Gravina their lives. Valentino, however, who had marked him for destruction, exerted himself against him so successfully that he was banished from Siena. But his exile was brief, for,

\* *Dei Dipinti di recente scoperti nella Cappella della Famiglia Tolosa in Monte Oliveto di Napoli*, in the *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* (Naples, 1805), pp. 212–222.

† *Arte italiana del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1891), p. 15.

‡ Giovanni Ant. Pecci, *Memorie storiche che servono alla Vita civile di Pandolfo Petrucci dal 1480 al 1512* (Siena, 1755–60). Orlando Malavolti, *Historia senese* (Venice, 1599) part iii. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe senese* (Pistoja, 1649), vol. ii. p. 57. Bartolomeo Aquarone, *Gli ultimi Anni della Storia repubblicana di Siena* (Siena, 1869). Ugo Guido Mondolfo, *Pandolfo Petrucci, Signore di Siena* (Siena, 1899). Narciso Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena*, vol. i. (Siena, 1891), pp. 214 and 259.





"The Return of Ulysses," National Gallery

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*b. Pand. the Petrucci dal 1450 al 1512 (Siena,*







protected by the King of France and the Florentines, he was re-admitted to the city by public decree. When the star of the Borgias had set, he flourished in security, under the title of *Il Magnifico*, until his death in 1512, honoured and lamented! Honoured for his better qualities, for he was often just, and lamented because he had procured the blessing of peace.

His sway was too brief to enable him to leave traces of splendour equal to those of a long and well-established rule. Yet Pandolfo did not lack the will to add to the splendour of Siena, and while carrying out various works in churches and monasteries he formed the design of surrounding the Piazza del Campo with a magnificent colonnade.

Meanwhile, about 1505, he began his palace, which ruined as it is, still bears the name of the Palazzo del Magnifico. The architect was Giacomo Cozzarelli, a Sienese architect and sculptor, the author of the admirable torch-holder and bell-handle on the façade, which, when they were removed some years ago to be sold, were restored to their places in obedience to the popular tumult. The building was finished about 1509 or 1510; and among its most beautiful and important features was the room with paintings by Pintoricchio, Signorelli, and Genga, a majolica pavement, the fragments of which are preserved in the Louvre and the South Kensington Museum, and carved wood-work by Antonio Barili, part of which is in the Siena Gallery, where Genga's two frescoes have also been deposited.\* Other portions, namely,



*Allinari, photo.*

"ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN"  
NAPLES MUSEUM

\* Catalogue of the Siena Gallery (Siena, 1895), p. 109. These frescoes of Genga's are generally given to Luca Signorelli as well as his own. But only three bear the signature of the latter.

Luca Signorelli's *Triumph of Chastity*, and Pintoricchio's *Penelope*, are in the London National Gallery.\*

Vasari makes no mention of Pintoricchio's work in the Petrucci palace, and his annotators, though they have repaired the omission, assume the whole of it to be lost, with the exception of the fragment spoken of above. But, fortunately, much of the decoration of the vault still remains, though obscured by the ceilings and partitions of the rooms into which the hall was divided about a century ago. This was brought to my knowledge by the distinguished director of the Siena Gallery, Professor Alessandro Franchi, to whose courtesy I am indebted for explanations, models, and drawings, made under the greatest difficulties, the investigator being obliged to creep on his hands and knees in the dark and narrow space between vault and ceilings. He tells me, however, that over the highest of the rooms the ancient vault still serves as ceiling, and has been whitewashed. The rest is still visible, though damaged by the wantonness and cupidity of the masons, who used their hammers on the paintings and stucco reliefs, and scraped off the gold.

The hall is almost square, and the vault springs from the walls with two pendentives and three triangles on each side. In the pendentives, on a blue ground dotted with gold, are gilded candelabra supporting a cartel with a motto, surmounted by an eagle, from whose outspread wings hang bunches of grapes and fluttering ribbons. The fillings between have alternate red and light-blue grounds, painted with the usual grotesques enclosing rectangles containing figures, among them the Muses: Terpsichore, reclining almost at full length, writing with her right hand, and supporting her pensive head with her left hand; Erato with cymbal and swan; Calliope, seated on the ground and blowing the trumpet. In the compartments of the central square, formed by broad bands of simple foliage, are mythological subjects: Antiope, sleeping near a tree, is surprised by Jupiter in the form of a satyr; Bacchus and Pan; Hercules spinning meekly among the flocks, dominated by Omphale, who holds up the club in derision; the triumph of a warrior seated in a chariot driven by a winged genius, drawn by two horses, and followed by soldiers; the triumph of Peace, on a chariot to which two lions are harnessed; a nymph seated on a long-tailed ram; two genii swimming, one astride of a dolphin, etc. In the central compartment are the remains of cords and of *putti*, showing that four of these formerly upheld the Petrucci arms in a garland.

Other episodes are figured in the lunettes; that of Brennus throwing his sword into the scales has survived. Finally, among the frescoes of the walls painted by Signorelli, Genga, and Pintoricchio, the story of Penelope is undoubtedly by the master; this, as we have noted above, is in London. The figures of the suitors on the right (they are posed with the usual Umbrian sentimentality, one of them with a hawk on his wrist), are not well drawn; but Telemachus, advancing towards his mother while Ulysses enters in the guise of a beggar, is full of movement and vivacity; and Penelope, seated at her frame

\* They were removed from the plaster by Pellegrino Succi in 1844 for the Frenchman Joly de Bannerville, who bought them from the owner of the Petrucci Palace. They afterwards passed into the possession of Mr. Alexander Barker, at whose sale they were bought for the National Gallery in 1874. See *Catalogue of National Gallery* (London, 1898), pp. 412 and 502. Vasari, vol. iii. pp. 701-702. Eastlake, *Handbook of Painting, Italian Schools*, vol. i. p. 278. A. Franchi, *Le Palais du Magnifico à Sienne* in *L'Art* (Paris, 1882), year viii., nos. 386, 388. Destrée (p. 82) thinks the *Telemachus* the only one of the series extant.





*Umanzi, photo.*

ST. MATTHEW

*FROM THE CEILING OF THE CHURCH, SANTA MARIA DEL POPOLO, ROME.*



with a maid beside her winding the thread, is delightfully sweet, simple, and graceful. A cat plays with the ball of thread. Through the window we see a bay and the open sea. On the shore to the right is Ulysses, conversing with Circe surrounded by the "beasts with human souls"; then Ulysses falling into the water from the raft which Neptune overturns (?); and finally, the great ship with swelling sails, the sailors, stopping their ears, and Ulysses bound to the mainmast, to escape the fatal allurements of the sirens swimming round the vessel, with forked tails like the sirens of Roman art.

The frescoes of the Palazzo Petrucci that are now in foreign lands will never return to our country; but we wish, nevertheless, that the superb building could be acquired by the municipality, or some other public body in Siena, restored, and freed from all that encumbers it and conceals its beauties. Portions of it are still visible, and are magnificent; others, like the Pintoricchio hall, are simply covered over, and here Genga's frescoes and Barili's carvings might be placed; others again are its mysterious chambers, reserving surprises for those who may work upon them.

At present, however, the Palazzo del Magnifico is squalid, neglected, and unseemly.

\* \* \*

When, towards the close of the winter of 1508, Bernardino went to Spello to complete the S. Andrea picture, he must have already made considerable progress with the decorations in the Palazzo Petrucci.

In the letter transcribed by him in the picture of S. Andrea at Spello, dated April 24 of that year, Baglioni twice begs him not to go away, but to gratify Petrucci by returning to him. We may conclude, in fact, that he complied at once, and finished the work during the summer, to enable him to go to Rome in the autumn, and there paint the other great decoration ordered by Julius II. for the vault of the choir or presbytery of S. Maria del Popolo.

Vasari records this commission,\* as do all the other biographers; but the notice that is most important and most noteworthy chronologically is given by Francesco Albertini, who, in the little book already quoted, says, addressing Julius II.: *Ecclesia S. Mariæ de Populo à Syxto IIII. fuit ab ipsis fundamentis cum clauistro instaurata; quam hoc anno tua sanctitas, non degenerans a patruo Syxto, ampliavit pulcherrimisque picturis exornavit.* And specifying more precisely: "*In ecclesia S. Mariæ de Populo . . . vero capellam tua Beatitudo fundavit ac variis picturis exornavit manu Bernardini Perusini.*" The little work, which appeared in 1510, was written a year before, and bears the date: "*Ex urbe die iii. mensis Junii MDIX,*"† so we may suppose that Pintoricchio executed these frescoes with the help of his pupils between September 1508 and May 1509 approximately, save for a brief absence on his own part in the month of January. Although they are in good condition and carefully executed, the general effect is not particularly pleasing, owing to the want of connection between

\* Vasari, vol. iii, p. 503.

† *Opusculum de Mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ, Lib. iii. De nonnullis ecclesiis et capellis.* Vasari's annotators say: "It is a mistake to suppose that the choir was painted by order of Julius II. during his pontificate, or, as has even been said, while he was Cardinal." But this time it is *they* who are mistaken, and the testimony of Albertini, who was in Rome during the year in question (1509), excludes all possible doubt.



the niches in the angles and the square compartment in the centre. The very fanciful and animated grotesques of the pendentives repeat two designs on a gold ground, and terminate above in a cornice which bears the names of the four Doctors of the Church, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory, who appear above, seated on thrones in niches of simulated marble with polychromatic ornament. *S. Ambrose*, in a white mitre, robes, and gloves, and a blue mantle with a pink lining, holds up the scourge in his right hand and a book in the left. His face has a certain austerity of expression. Of the *S. Jerome*, on the other hand, in a cardinal's robes, reading, it is difficult to judge, so much is this damaged by damp and restorations, which have also done considerable injury to the somewhat inexpressive S. Augustine. The finest of all is the *S. Gregory*, an elegant figure with the subtle and devout face of the ecclesiast, his head but very slightly inclined, and marked by none of the usual Umbrian sentimentality. He holds up his right hand solemnly in benediction, and grasps the crozier with the left. He seems to be communicating to the world the words suggested to him by the Holy Spirit, an almost invisible dove which hovers at his ear.

Starting from the sides of the niches and following the span of the four arches are broad decorative fillets of simulated marble, within which are painted interlacings of yellow cords on a red ground and the key pattern on a blue ground. Each of the niches is set against an equilateral triangle enclosing a blue ground reticulated and starred with gold; but these large uniform spaces, without any grotesques, lacking the richness of the rest, do not satisfy the eye. Pintoricchio, of course, introduced them to show off the niches in all their structural elegance, but these wide surfaces filled with simple geometrical figures, of almost stereotyped design, do not harmonise with the magnificence of the rest, in which simulated marble cornices and vivacious grotesques on a gold ground surround four discs with the Evangelists, as many polygons with the Sibyls, and the central octagon in which is painted the *Coronation*.

*S. Matthew*, with the symbolic angel beside him, is a little group full of a sweet familiarity of sentiment. The Evangelist, a young man with long hair falling in a mass on his shoulders, wearing a green robe and a violet mantle which is twisted round his legs, writes in the book he holds upon his knees. The fair-haired angel stands devoutly beside him, holding the ink-stand, and eyeing what the saint writes with artless curiosity.

*S. John*, on the other hand, an old man with a long white beard and long white hair, is not so attractive, owing to the conventionality of the type, nor is the eagle who accompanies him a very decorative bird. The *S. Luke*, who is painting the Madonna, and resting his panel on the head of his ox, is a very poor figure, and the *S. Mark* with the lion beside him is cold and mannered.

The *Sibyls* are immeasurably more graceful and interesting. The *Persian Sibyl* reclines on her left side, her bust upraised; she writes in a book supported on a stool. Her fine, fair hair is drawn together at the back of her neck, and her head bound with a fillet from which a jewel hangs on her forehead; she wears jewelled pendants, a robe entirely of blue, white sleeves with red stripes, and dainty sandals on her beautiful feet. The background is reticulated, simulating mosaic. The *Erythraean Sibyl* is swathed in aerial white draperies with pearly shadows, and a rosy mantle, as if the rays of dawn had touched her. She lies voluptuously extended, leaning her right elbow on a stool, raising









The Erythraean Sibyl, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome



her head languidly, and holding her draperies together at the breast with her left hand. Her fair face expresses a placid contentment, both moral and physical; she is pleased with her own thoughts and with the breeze that stirs her draperies, and twists them into fluttering convolutions. The *Delphic Sibyl* sits on the ground with her left arm on her books, and holds up her right hand as if speaking. Her delicate face is enframed in fair hair, twisted into a blue veil in the Peruginesque manner; there are jewels on her head and breast; she wears a yellow robe and blue sleeves slashed with white, a dark green mantle, and russet shoes. It is undeniable that this figure is distinguished by a certain hardness of pose, the upper part of her body being held stiffly erect as if she were standing. Less beautiful as a whole by reason of a certain heaviness of form and colour is the *Cimmerian Sibyl*, although in face not less lovely than the others. She too is fair; her face and eyes are turned heavenwards as if to receive inspiration; she rests her right elbow on her books, and points to the cartel on which her name is inscribed. Her robe is of a strong harsh red, her sleeves are blue, her bodice is of shot green stuff; she wears a rich necklace with a pendant, and a dark heavy shoe with a white lining on the left foot, the only one visible.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* in the central octagon has all the delicacy of a miniature, and all the sweetness proper to Umbrian art. We cannot agree with those who deny the master's authorship of these figures, or, at any rate, of the heads and hands. An azure circle, iridescent at the edges, studded at regular intervals with seraph heads, and sprinkled with stars like a serene sky at night, melts into the rosy clouds on which the Redeemer is seated. Rays of light stream from His wounds; He places the crown on the head of His Mother, who kneels devoutly before him, her delicate alabastrine hands folded together.

As a whole, these decorations have all the richness and splendour of a mosaic vault. They are less fused in colour than the paintings in the Borgia Rooms and at Spello, and more minute in treatment; to the spectator below, looking at them without glasses, the whole is not clearly distinguishable, as it must have been in Pintoricchio's time. They must have made a much greater effect when the church still preserved the delicate beauty of its Renaissance style, for it is easy to see how the audacious superfetations of Bernini have impoverished and quenched them, so to speak. To appreciate them properly, we must isolate them in our imaginations from the stucco angels, the huge altar, the pediments of the doors, the choir, the stalls, the heavy, impudent benches, and arrest the eye of the mind at the tombs of Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso, enriched by Andrea Sansovino



Ascanio, fresco

S. GREGORY

IN THE CHOIR OF SANTA MARIA DELLA SPINA, ROME



with the most delicate plant-forms, figures, and coats of arms; we must evoke the effigies of the dead Cardinals, calm, almost joyful, in the glories of art that surround them; we must feast our eyes on the magnificent painted glass of Claude and Guillaume Marsillat (for which Pintoricchio certainly did not furnish the design as is supposed); we must, in short, transport ourselves in spirit far from the *baroque* excrescences that have invaded the temple.

All this, we repeat, is necessary before we can appreciate Pintoricchio's elaborate decoration. But besides avoiding a comparison of the incompatible products of two centuries, we ought further to forget what had already been inaugurated in Rome when the master returned thither on the invitation of Julius II., who, as Pope, would not overlook the painter who had served him when he was a Cardinal. Very different artistic temperaments were thenceforward to devote themselves to his service, initiating, with their new ideals of conception and form, the grandest period in Italian art. Thenceforth Pintoricchio was a poor man who continued to repeat obsolete and worn-out formulæ, while Michelangelo was painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and Raphael was beginning upon the immortal compositions of the *Sala della Segnatura*, just over the Borgia Rooms, which the Pope had already abandoned in his horror of everything that reminded him of Alexander VI. and his family.

The division and arrangement of the vault in the *Sala della Segnatura* shows such strong affinities with those of Pintoricchio's vault in the apse of Santa Maria del Popolo, that we must fain suspect an actual relation between the two painters. Raphael's work dates from 1508, so was contemporary with the other. While Pintoricchio was painting in Santa Maria del Popolo, Sodoma was at work in the Vatican. But the contention seems to us futile, seeing that this decorative style had already revealed itself in those mosaic-like backgrounds painted by Pintoricchio twenty years before in the Belvedere, the Colonna Palace, etc., when Sodoma was only ten years old.

The decoration, in fact, adapted ancient themes in the one case as in the other, so that it was not essential that Pintoricchio or Sodoma should have agreed or desired to imitate one another, because they produced similar works. The method was now common property, though it was especially associated with Bernardino, whom the young Sodoma had seen working for years at Siena.

\* \* \*

The birth of his son, Camillo Giuliano, for whom Luca Signorelli stood sponsor,\* his receipt for the final payment for the Library frescoes,† and the nomination of Girolamo Antonio Cellerino, advocate, as his attorney,‡ all took place within the space of eleven days (January 7 to 18, 1509), and vouch for Pintoricchio's presence in Siena at the time. He then returned to his work at Rome, coming back again to Siena towards the summer, and remaining there for good, as it seems, in repute with the citizens, occupied with his family, and possessed of sufficient means to live in comfort.

\* "Camillo Giuliano figlio di M<sup>o</sup> Bernardino alias El Pintoricchio si baptezo addi vii di Gennaio. Compari Biagio di M. Biagio di M. Guidantonio Picholomini et M. Luca Signorelli da Cortona pittore." Register of Baptisms, Siena, under the above date. Signorelli may have been working in the Petrucci Palace at the time.

† Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte senese*, iii. p. 14.

‡ Borghesi and Banchi, *Documenti d' Arte senese*, p. 391.

As far back as 1504 he had bought some lands at Siena from the widow of Neroccio di Bartolomeo, a Siennese sculptor and painter.\* On December 15, 1506, the magistrature confirmed the donation made to him by the Commune of Montemassi, of twenty acres of land, no doubt in payment of some work unmentioned in the deliberations.† The same body, three months later, granted him an exemption from all taxes, with the exception of the gate-tax, for thirty years.‡ He afterwards returned to Rome, and in October of 1509 he sold to Pandolfo Petrucci and Paolo di Vannoccio Biringucci, overseers of the Chamber of the Commune of Siena, a house with a bath-room and garden for 420 florins.§ Then in November 1511, he bought from Antonio, son of the late Paolo Primaticci, a property known as the Cloister, in the Commune of Pernina.||

In respect to family matters, existing papers give evidence of complications of a not very reputable kind. From the year 1495, Pintoricchio had been living with an unscrupulous woman, one Grania di Nicolò, variously described as of Bologna and of Modena, by whom he had two daughters, Clelia and Adriana, who married after their father's death.¶ With the object, no doubt, of legitimising these daughters, he had been induced to marry Grania, who, in January, gave birth to a third daughter, Faustina Jeromino.\*\* That she was the child of Pintoricchio may, perhaps, be doubted by those who read in Sigismondo Tizio of the disgraceful intrigue carried on between Grania and Girolamo di Polo of Perugia, nicknamed Paffa, a soldier in the Siennese Guard, to whom she afterwards gave her own daughter Clelia in marriage. Be this as it may, Pintoricchio, at any rate, paid his wife in her own coin; another woman bore him two boys, Giulio Cesare, born in November 1506, and the Camillo Giuliano already mentioned.††

On November 1, 1509, our painter made his first will.‡‡ He desired to be buried in S. Domenico, made certain donations to the Wardens of the Cathedral, and bequeathed the sum of three hundred florins to Grania, then *enceinte* with Faustina. "*Ne post ejus testatoris mortem mendicare cogatur in verecundiam matrimonii et seu dicti sui viri.*" The rest concerns the children already born or to be born, legitimate or natural.

Bernardino survived the making of this will four years, working in Siena and in the neighbourhood. We must not, however, accept all the works there attributed to him as his. The following, for instance, must be rejected: the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Scolastica in the Church of Monte Oliveto Maggiore; the picture of the Virgin and Child in the Church of S. Sigismondo near Montefolloico in the Commune of Torrita.§§ There are also various paintings in Siena itself wrongfully ascribed to the master, such

\* Vasari, vol. iii, p. 530.

† Borghese and Banchi, p. 389.

‡ Milanesi, *Documenti dell' Arte senese*, iii. pp. 33, 34.

§ Borghese and Banchi, p. 391.

|| Archives of the Contracts of Ser Bastiano Bartolucci, file no. 1024.

¶ Borghese and Banchi, pp. 387-389.

\*\* Register of Baptisms, Siena, under January 27, 1510.

†† Mariotti (p. 224) adds: "It is not improbable that he was the father of that Girolamo del Pintoricchio who was Canon of the Cathedral in Perugia in 1525, and whose name I found mentioned by Cesare Bontempi in fol. 81 of his *Libro di Ricordi*. At Bettona, about 1518, there flourished a painter called Ciancio (or Vincenzo) di Pintoricchio, whose connection with the master we are unable to establish (O. Scalvanti, *L'Arte a Bettona*, Perugia, 1901, p. 10). Perhaps, like the Canon Girolamo, he may have been the son of another and more obscure artist, also called Pintoricchio. As we see, Fabi Montani (*Elogio del Pintoricchio* quoted p. 13) was incorrect when he stated that Bernardino 'left no male issue.'"

‡‡ Borghese and Banchi, pp. 387-389.

§§ Francesco Brogi, *Inventario generale degli Oggetti d' Arte della Provincia di Siena* (Siena, 1897), pp. 38 and 606.

as the *Madonna and Child between SS. Vincent and Anastasius*, in the little church of the Contrada dell' Istrice; a small *Madonna*, of a Peruginesque type, in the Chigi-Saracini Collection; the *Nativity*, in the Church of the Santuccio; the *S. John and the Magdalen with Jesus and the little S. John*, in the Church of the Servi; and various others we need not mention.

Authentic works painted by Bernardino in his last years are: the *Reliquary*, in the Berlin Gallery; the little picture belonging to the Borromeo family; and the picture now in the Palazzo Comunale of San Gimignano, and formerly in the Church of S. Maria Assunta at Monte Oliveto in Barbiano.

In the upper part of the *Reliquary*, with his feet on the clouds, against an almond-shaped glory upheld by two angels, stands S. Augustine, holding his book and pastoral staff. Below stand S. Benedict, in a full white gown, bending his head and reading, and S. Bernard, holding a scourge and looking at him. This picture was in the Monastery of S. Donato in Polverosa at Florence, and was bought in 1876 by the banker Brini.\*

The beautiful picture at S. Gimignano remained comparatively unknown and unnoticed for several centuries. Rumour mentions it as a work by Pacchiarotto.† Gaye was, perhaps the first to restore it to its true author. "To me," he says, "it seems to be undoubtedly one of Pintoricchio's best works."‡ After this the attribution was generally recognised and adopted.

But some doubts, or rather some errors, remained to be cleared up as to the date of the work and the identity of the two Saints represented. Natale Baldoria wrote: "To me it seems a fine work in Pintoricchio's manner, painted by an artist accustomed to work in miniature, rather than by one used to the painting of large pictures. If it be indeed by the master, it must be looked upon as a juvenile work, and not one of his more mature years, when he had enlarged his manner and made it more conventional, abandoning that ingenuous simplicity we note in the picture described above."§ In this passage the excellent Baldoria, a most acute observer as a rule, falls into error, no doubt from a lack of accurate æsthetic and historical knowledge concerning our painter. Bernardino, so far from enlarging his style with years, rather reduced it, as we have seen, until he finished by painting the little picture in the Borromeo Collection, which has really all the character of miniature. Besides which, we may take some account of the fact that Pintoricchio did not come to Siena till 1502, and that a picture painted for a place in the neighbourhood of the city was probably executed during his sojourn there.

But all such deductions are superfluous in view of the documents recently discovered and published.|| In the first of these, dated October 23 (perhaps 1510), the master agrees to execute the picture: "I, Bernardino of Perugia, otherwise Pintoricchio, bind myself to paint an altar-piece for Friar Giovanni of Verona, to go to S. Gimignano, for the sum of fifty florins in Sienese money, in which picture there shall be a Madonna with certain

\* *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Gemälde*, p. 212.

† *Italianische Forschungen*, already quoted, vol. iii. p. 45.

‡ *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti* (Florence, 1840), vol. iii. p. 434.

§ *Monumenti artistici in San Gimignano*, in the *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, vol. iii. p. 67.

|| See Nomi-Venerosi-Pesciolini, *Un Quadro di Bernardino Betti di Perugia*, in the *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, year iii., no. ii. pp. 132-140. See also the *Bollettino della Società Umbra di Storia patria* (Perugia, 1895-96), i. p. 626: ii. p. 187, and, in Nomi's lecture, *Feste centenarie in S. Gimignano*, a reproduction of the picture.





The Delphic Sibyl, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome



cherubim above, and at her feet two Saints, S. Benedict and S. Bernard. And we have agreed together as to the aforesaid fifty florins save for the wood, which he is to pay for himself. And hereto I set my own hand in token." He adds afterwards that he had received, first ten florins, and later fifteen.

Nomi points out that the Friar Giovanni of Verona who gave the commission was no doubt "the famous worker in intarsia."\*

But it was not he who made the final payment when the work was finished: "On the 9th day of February, 1512, I, Bernardino aforesaid, received from Friar Domenico of Bologna, cellarer of Santa Maria in Barbiana, of the order of Monte Oliveto, twenty-five florins, the rest of the payment for the picture I painted for him. And I have been fully satisfied and paid by the said cellarer."

This last document fixes the date of the picture as 1511.

It is true that one of the two saints does not correspond to those mentioned in the agreement; a Pope figures in the picture instead of a S. Benedict, but this is not astonishing, seeing how often patrons changed their minds and asked for variations. We have seen that Pintoricchio himself made a change of subject in the predella of the altar-piece of Santa Maria dei Fossi, and that he probably caused a *tondo* of the risen Saviour to be added to the altar-piece of S. Andrea at Spello.

Finally, we must inquire who are the two saints depicted. Brogi writes as follows: "Kneeling below there are, on the right, the Blessed Bernardo Tolomei, on the left, a Pope, probably of the Olivetan order."† Luigi Pecori‡ and Baldoria avoid the difficulty by giving no names; but Nomi goes into the question again, and arrives at the conclusion that the Pope is Gregory the Great, and the other saint, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.

They are both kneeling with clasped hands in a fertile meadow. S. Gregory, an old man with a long white beard, in a white robe, holds his pastoral staff; before him, on the ground, is his mitre, side by side with the rich, jewelled tiara of S. Gregory, a clean



*Los Justi, phot.*

VIRGIN IN GLORY WITH SS. GREGORY AND BERNARD  
MUSEO DELL'ARTE DELLA PROVINCIA DI SIENA

\* Vincenzo Marchese, *Memoire dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti* (Bologna, 1879), ii. p. 271.

† *Inventario Generale degli Oggetti d'Arte della Provincia di Siena*, p. 516.

‡ *Storia della Terra di San Gimignano* (Florence, 1853), p. 555.



shaven ecclesiast, in a red cope lined with blue, his gloved hands covered with rings, his vestments richly embroidered with saints in niches. Above, between the two, is the *Madonna* praying, seated on white clouds that gleam radiantly within a blue mandorla, edged with white, and studded with stars and seraph-heads.

The background is of the usual kind, with pierced rocks, beyond which the eye wanders into a spacious valley, watered by a river on which is a boat; to the left are bosky hills, and a city, near the gate of which the painter has placed a pyramid, like the tomb of Caius Cestius, near the Porta S. Paolo.

\* \* \*

Pintoricchio's last work was the little picture of *Christ bearing the Cross*, in the Borromeo Collection at Milan, painted the year of his death.\* It has all the delicacy of a miniature, and it was perhaps this that led Beissel to ascribe certain *Tuscan* miniatures to the master.† The little panel, doubtless the cover of a book originally, is signed: *Questa opera e' di mano del Pintoricchio da Perugia, MCCCCCXIII.*

An arabesque of gold on a red ground enframes the minute and crowded scene. The Saviour in the centre, dressed in a red tunic edged and embroidered with gold on the breast, the shoulders, and at the hem, bears a gilded cross. His feet and hands are beautifully formed, but His face lacks expression. Round His neck is a cord, by which an executioner in front, in a tattered white shirt, blue tunic, and red stockings, pulls Him along. At his waist hangs a pouch with a hammer, pincers, and nails. His face is coarse and red, but he has not the evil look of the other executioner, a half-naked man in a high-crowned turban, who seizes Jesus by the hair, and raises a bundle of tamarisks to beat Him. Behind there is a dense crowd of soldiers in rich dresses with golden arms, who prevent the holy women from approaching the Saviour. The leader, who holds a short sword in his right hand, and turns to look behind him, wears a red cloak over a cuirass inlaid with gold, and carries a shield on which is a female figure playing a lyre; behind him are others with oriflammes, halberds, and the usual emblem of the scorpion. A rough soldier seizes the throat of the Virgin, a beautiful little figure, whose delicate face expresses neither grief nor fear. The Magdalen beside him throws back her head, which is foreshortened in the conventional Peruginesque manner. Other graceful female heads appear among the crowd behind. This escort, and the group of Jesus with the two executioners, seem to be advancing towards one of the usual pierced rocks with a fig-tree below and other trees flecked with gold above, in order to turn behind it and join the rest of the procession, which has already passed by and is seen in the distance. The two thieves, naked, and with hands bound behind them, are urged forward by other executioners and soldiers, one of whom offers drink in a bowl to the sufferers. Farther away, on the road to Calvary, beyond some dark bushes, is a group of horsemen, then the mount, with men digging holes and setting up the crosses. Near by is a ladder resting against a tree. A devil mounts it to hang Judas. Mountains and rocks close in the scene, with valleys between; a faint line of blue hills dies away into

\* G. Frizzoni, *Il Museo Borromeo in Milano*, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, iii. pp. 360-61.

† *Vaticanische Miniature* (Freiburg in Brersgau, 1893). Orsini, indeed, had already expressed the same opinion (*Guida di Perugia*, p. 94), ascribing to him five miniatures in the Palazzo Graziari. See also Vermiglioli, p. 6 *et seq.*



*Marazzi, photo*

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS

*FORNICO MUSEUM, MILAN*





the glowing sky; across a river winds a bridge on which are a horseman and a pedestrian, advancing towards a city with walls and bastions, near which are other figures. Various birds wing their flight across the sky.

The picture has darkened a little, particularly in the greens, so that the landscape, though every little leaf is studied "in the Flemish fashion," has lost its transparency. The figures in the background are also very delicately painted, which fuses them a little too much with the landscape, but the larger figures of the foreground stand out as if in the glow of a furnace. The crowded composition has this advantage, that it throws into relief the figure of Jesus, which, set in a free space in the centre, bears the impress of a certain hieratic simplicity.

\* \* \*

Such were his works. What was the life of the master? To this question history gives no answer, no doubt because Pintoricchio's life was one spent almost entirely in work, without violent incidents or episodes of much importance.

The long series of work executed by him tells us where he was at different stages of his career, and by whom he was employed. We find him in contact with the strongest, most dissolute, and most cruel personalities of his day, from Alexander VI. to Julius II., from Cesare Borgia to Pandolfo Petrucci, keeping silently and prudently to his work, with a soul as diminutive as his body, never allowing himself to pass judgment on the crimes his patrons were meditating or carrying out in places he had made resplendent with gold and vivid colour. Matarozzo describes him as "deaf and undersized, mean in person and appearance."\* He felt therefore that he was not made to participate in the struggles of his stormy times, and, like Raphael and Correggio, he confined himself to the delights of his art, not taking part, like Bramante and Michelangelo, in public life.

Popes, princes, and cardinals looked upon him merely as a craftsman. They did not persecute him when he worked for their adversaries; nor did they lavish honours upon him when he worked for them. Thus the terrible Cesare Borgia wrote of him to Alfani in October 1500, as one "whom we have always loved for his excellent qualities; and we have again taken him into our service."† The downfall of the Borgias came swiftly at last, and Pintoricchio passed into the service of two of their most ferocious enemies, the Magnifico, and Julius II. He must have been one of the most modest of the artists of his day, and during his last sojourn in Rome we can picture him watching with a certain awe the workings of the new spirit as manifested in the works of Raphael and Michelangelo, of Sangallo and Bramante.

We seem to see him sitting, a silent, almost timid guest at the banquets given by the debonair and splendid Bramante, and described by Caporali: "And he [Bramante] was not by nature covetous of riches, and having had them, he had despised them in his prudent liberality. Finally, Julius the Pope, for the special love he bore him, made him rich, almost against his will, and in the name of the obedience due to His

\* *Cronaca*, p. 7. Lione Pascoli (*op. cit.* p. 42) three centuries later evolved a very different Pintoricchio from his own imagination: "well-proportioned in stature, with a fine presence, dignified and serious!"

† Alvisi, *Cesare Borgia*, p. 14.

Holiness, giving to him and to his servants benefices and offices of great annual value, far in excess of what he required for decent livelihood and clothing. And him we met again in Rome, together with Pietro Perugino, Luca da Cortona, and Bernardino Perugino, called Pintoricchio, and by him we were invited to a banquet, where in his talk he made us to understand this."\*

Vasari, it would seem, gave a totally false impression of our painter's character when he described him as "a strange and fantastic man," † and treated him with injustice here, as when he declared his fame to be above his deserts, and gave out that the drawings and cartoons for the Siena Library were all furnished by Raphael. Fortune must have been adverse enough to his fame, on the contrary, when an honourable maxim enounced by him was converted into a servile phrase, as thus: Pintoricchio having said that "the greatest value a painter could give to his images was a thing of his own, which he owed neither to princes nor others,‡ Giovan Luigi Valesio, a courtier, changed the sense, alleging that Pintoricchio said "the highest value a painter could give to his creations was to procure for them the support of princes, and that this was true wisdom."§

On May 7, 1513, shortly after the death of Petrucci and Julius II., his two last patrons, being already infirm (*corpore languens*) he made his last will. || His illness seems to have been a long one, for on September 14 and October 14 he added codicils, and he did not die till December 11. In this will he first directed that he should be buried, not in San Domenico, but in San Francesco. He left Grania, his wife, "governess and guardian, mother and lady over all his possessions, which she was to administer until such time as his daughters should marry"; to her personally he bequeathed "three hundred florins, which she was to have as her dowry in case her children should not agree well with her, or in case she should wish to marry again"; he left her besides all his wearing apparel, and appointed Clelia, Adriana, and Faustina, his daughters, residuary legatees.

In the codicil he reduces Grania's legacy to two hundred florins, and makes a different disposition of the other hundred, perhaps in a fit of anger with his perverse partner; but she seems to have made her peace with him again, for on October 14 he reverted to the larger sum. She, however, had no pity for her old, feeble, and weary husband. Sigismundo Tizio relates that "more than ever infatuated with Paffa, *peditem in foro senensi*, she shut up her sick husband in the house, and left him to die of want, preventing any one from responding to his lamentations, save some worthless women (*mulierculas*) of the neighbourhood." The same Tizio, a parishioner of SS. Vincent and Anastasius in the Ward of the Ostrich, adds that Pintoricchio was buried in his (Tizio's) church, now the Oratory of the Ward of the Ostrich, where an inscription to his memory was put up in 1830.

The story of the last months of this poor man's life is, as we see, very simple. Let us hear now the extraordinary fable Vasari accepted or invented: "When he had reached the age of fifty-nine, he was given a picture to paint for the Church of San Francesco in Siena, of the Birth of the Virgin; having begun which, the friars assigned

\* "With his commentary and illustrations, Vitruvius, translated into the vulgar tongue by Master Gianbatista Caporali of Perugia." (Perugia, 1536) fol. 102, *recto*.

† Vol. iii. p. 504.

‡ Vasari, vol. iii. pp. 501-502.

§ Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice* (Bologna, 1844), p. 101.

|| Milanese, *Documenti d'Arte senese*, iii. pp. 62-65.

him a room for his lodging, and gave it to him, as he had requested, empty and cleared of everything, save for a great and ancient chest, which they thought it too laborious to remove. But Pintoricchio, like the strange and fantastic man he was, made so much ado and uproar about it on so many occasions, that the friars at last in despair, removed it, and so fortunate were they, that as they carried it out, one of the boards broke, and out fell 500 gold ducats; which thing so displeased Pintoricchio, and so ill did he take the good fortune of those poor friars, that one cannot imagine greater distress; and so much did he take it to heart, never thinking of anything else, that at last he died of it."\*

It is hardly necessary to refute this absurd tale, incredible on the very face of it. Pintoricchio painted the picture for the Church of San Francesco some years before his death; he had at Siena a good house of his own, and a large workshop "in the division of Camollia, near the Piazza Paparoni," where he lived and worked, so he had no need of a bare cell in a monastery. But Vasari, like the clever literary artist he was, wanted to give a lively biographical touch to his life of Pintoricchio, which for the most part is made up of descriptions of paintings.

Little more is known of Grania. In 1515 she sold to Sigismondo Chigi a part of certain freeholds, and a year later she appealed to the Magistrature for permission to sell also the part that belonged to her daughter Faustina. After this she went to live at Deruta and at Città di Castello, where she made her will on May 22, 1518.† Her daughter Clelia or Egidia (as we have seen) married Paffa; Faustina became the wife of one Filippo di Paolo of Deruta, and Adriana married one Giuseppe di Giovanni of Perugia;‡ of the illegitimate sons there is not a word.

Thus the ill-assorted family dispersed and died out rapidly, like the fame (so lately rehabilitated) of him whom Vasari ventured to call a favourite of Fortune!

\* Vol. iii. pp. 503-505. This story is repeated by Baldinucci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 484.

† Vermiglioli, Appendix, pp. lxx. lxx.

‡ State Archives of Siena. Acts and Documents relating to Artists, under the name Pinturicchio, Bernardino.







Anderson, photo

PREDELLA OF ALTAR-PIECE OF S. MARIA DEI FOSSI  
PERUGIA GALLERY

## CATALOGUE OF WORKS BY PINTORICCHIO

We have included in the list only those works which we hold to be genuine, and not those, too many in number, which are simply attributed to the master, and mentioned in the text. This is said that the reader may not accuse us of error or omission when, for example he does not find here the *Epiphany* of the Pitti Gallery, the *Portrait of a Youth* at Oxford, the *Madonna* with two Saints of the Louvre, the *Madonna* of the Berlin Gallery, the *St. Michael* of Leipzig, the *Eternal Father* in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli, the *Madonna* of Budapest, the *S. Anthony* of Bergamo, the frescoes of S. Catero at Tolentino, those of S. Cosimato, S. Onofrio, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Croce di Gerusalemme at Rome, &c. &c.

1474—1480?

TORRE D'ANDREA (near Assisi), Parish Church.

*The Presentation of Christ in the Temple.* Altar-piece.

SIENA GALLERY.

*Holy Family with Infant S. John.* Round picture.

*Virgin and Child with the Pomegranate.* Small picture.

OXFORD. University Galleries.

*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.

PERUGIA. Gallery.

*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.

SPELLO. Church of S. Maria Maggiore.

*Virgin and Child.* Altar-piece.

*Virgin and Child.* Fresco.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO. Bufalini Collection.

*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.

MUNICH. Baron von Tucher's Collection.

*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.

LONDON. National Gallery.

*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.\*

1480—1483.

ROME. Vatican, Sistine Chapel.

*The Journey of Moses.*

*The Baptism of Christ.*

Frescoes painted in collaboration with Perugino.

1483—1484.

ROME. Church of the Ara Coeli, Bufalini Chapel.

Vault: *The Four Evangelists.*

Walls: *Investiture of S. Bernardine.*

*Narration of His Miracles.*

\* Perhaps by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, to whom we are also inclined to attribute the very graceful replica in the Trevi Gallery.

- S. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, Glorification of S. Bernardine between S. Louis of Toulouse and S. Anthony. Funeral of S. Bernardine.* Frescoes.
- 1484.
- ROME. Church of S. Cecilia, Ponziani Chapel.  
Vault: *The Four Evangelists.* Fresco. (Painted for the most part by his assistants.)
- 1485—1486.
- VALENCIA (Spain). Academy.  
*Virgin and Child with Giovanni Borgia the Elder.* Altar-piece.
- ROME. Countess Rasponi-Spalletti.  
*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.
- S. PETERSBURG. Botkine Collection.  
*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.
- ROME. Colonna Palace.  
*Vault of a room on the ground floor with ornaments and medallions.* Fresco.
- 1486—1487.
- ROME. Vatican, Belvedere. The following were painted partly by his assistants:  
*Vaults and Lunettes of the Loggia and several rooms.* Fresco.  
*Madonna over the entrance.* Lost.  
*Views of Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Naples.* (Destroyed or hidden by plaster.)
- 1488.
- ROME. Museum of the Capitol.  
*Madonna of the Earthquake.* Fresco.
- ROME. S. Maria del Popolo. Chapel of the Nativity.  
Frescoes. The design is by Pintoricchio, the execution by his assistants and pupils.
- 1489.
- ROME. S. Maria del Popolo. Chapel of S. Catherine.  
*Figures and ornamentation by Pintoricchio and his pupils.* Frescoes.
- 1489—1490.
- ROME. S. Maria del Popolo. Chapel of the Madonna dell' Orto.  
The general design of this and also of the *Madonna and Saints* over the altar is by Pintoricchio; he was aided by his pupils in the execution. Frescoes.
- CITTÀ DI CASTELLO. Sacristy of the Cathedral.  
*Virgin and Child with Infant St. John.* Small Altar-piece.
- SAN SEVERINO (in the Marches). Sacristy of the Cathedral.  
*Virgin and Child with Portrait of Liberato Bartelli.* Altar-piece.
- PERUGIA. Borgia-Mandolini Collection.  
*Virgin and Child.* Small panel.
- ROME. Palazzo dei Penitenzieri.  
*Vaults and Ceilings* in tempera and fresco.
- 1490—1491.
- LONDON. National Gallery.  
*S. Catherine of Alexandria with the Donor.* Panel.
- ROME. S. Maria del Popolo, Cybo Chapel.  
Frescoes, destroyed save for a fragment now in the Cathedral at
- MASSA-CARRARA, representing the *Virgin and Child with Angels.*
- DRESDEN GALLERY.  
*Portrait of a Boy.* Small picture.
- 1492.
- ORVIETO. Apse of the Cathedral.  
*The Evangelists, S. Mark and S. Luke.* The latter has been destroyed. Fresco.
- 1493—1494.
- ROME. Vatican, Borgia Rooms.  
The whole of the decoration of the five rooms was designed by Pintoricchio, and carried out by him with the aid of his many assistants and pupils. We indicate by a star those frescoes which can be recognised as the master's in whole or in part.
- Room of the Mysteries. Vault with *ornamentation, heraldic emblems, Prophets, &c.* In the Lunettes: the *Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, \*Assumption of the Virgin, \*Resurrection of Christ.* Ornamental division of the walls into compartments.
- Room of the Saints. Vault with the *\*History of Osiris, Isis, Argus.* In the Lunettes: *\*The Visitation, \*The Hermits, S. Antony and S. Paul, Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, \*Susanna, \*S. Barbara, \*Dispute of S. Catherine, Ornamental divisions of the Walls, \*Virgin and Child over the door.*
- Room of the Liberal Arts. *Astrology, Music, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Dialectics, Grammar, Vaults with ornaments and heraldic devices.* Ornamental division of walls into compartments.
- Room of the Creed. Vault decorated with *grotesques and the devices of the Borgias.* Lunettes with *half-lengths of Apostles and Prophets.*



- Room of the Sibyls. *Vault decorated with grotesques, emblematic groups of the planets and their influences. Lunettes with half-lengths of Prophets and Sibyls.*
- 1495.
- ROME. St. Peter's, Chapel of the Holy Spear.  
*Virgin and Child with Innocent VIII* (Panel lost).  
Castle of St. Angelo. Great lower Tower (demolished).  
*Life of Alexander VI.* Frescoes destroyed.
- 1496.
- PERUGIA GALLERY.  
*Polyptych from S. Maria dei Fossi, Virgin and Child, with S. Augustine, S. Jerome, the Annunciation, the Dead Christ, &c.* Panels.
- ORVIETO. Apse of the Cathedral.  
*St. Gregory and St. Ambrose.* The latter is destroyed. Frescoes.
- 1497.
- ROME. Vatican.  
Rooms overlooking the courtyard of St. Peter. Frescoes.
- SPOLETO. Cathedral. Erolì Chapel.  
*Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen. The Eternal Father above.* Fresco.
- 1498.
- ROME. Castle of St. Angelo.  
*Frescoes in the upper rooms.* Destroyed.
- 1497—1500.
- PERUGIA. Gallery.  
*St. Augustine and Members of his Confraternity.* Panel.
- PARIS (?).  
*S. Jerome.* Formerly in the Borghese Collection at Rome. Panel.
- MILAN. The Marquis Emilio Visconti Venosta.  
*Wooden Cross painted with the Crucified Saviour, and four Saints on the extremities.*  
*Virgin and Child with Infant S. John.* Round picture.
- WIGAN. The Earl of Crawford.  
*Madonna del Latte.* Small picture.
- MILAN. (Mombello.) Prince Pio of Savoy.  
*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.
- CAMBRIDGE. Fitzwilliam Museum.  
*Virgin and Child.* Small picture.
- 1500.
- GAICHE, near Montepetriolo (Umbria).  
(?) *Virgin and Child.* Fresco.
- ASSISI. Palazzo Comunale.  
*Madonna with Seraphim.* Fresco.
- 1500—1501.
- SPELLO. S. Maria Maggiore. Baglioni Chapel.  
Decorations executed by the Master with some help from his pupils.  
Vault: *Four Sibyls.*  
Walls: *Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Jesus among the Doctors.* Frescoes.  
Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, formerly the Sacristy.  
*Angel, in a niche above the piscina.*
- 1502—1503.
- ROME. Vatican Gallery.  
*Coronation of the Virgin with Apostles and Saints.*  
Painted for S. Maria della Pietà di Castel della Fratta, and probably in great part by Caporali. It is believed that the *Portraits of a Youth and of a Woman* now in Perugia in the possession of the Maravelli Family, formed part of the predella.
- SIENA. Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral.  
*Drawings and Cartoons.* Lost.  
The Vault painted by pupils and assistants.
- 1504.
- SIENA. Church of S. Francesco.  
Piccolomini Chapel—Panel burnt in 1655.  
Segardi Chapel.  
*Nativity of the Virgin.* Burnt in 1655.
- 1504.
- SIENA. Cathedral. Chapel of St. John the Baptist.  
Frescoes partly repainted. There remain by Pintoricchio and his assistants the *Portrait of Alberto Aringhieri, Knight of Rhodes*, of another *Knight of S. John of Jerusalem, the Birth of St. John, St. John in the Desert, and St. John preaching.* Frescoes.
- 1505.
- SIENA. Pavement of the Cathedral.  
*Fortune*, designed by Pintoricchio.
- 1505—1507.
- PICCOLOMINI LIBRARY. *Life of Ænea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.), painted by Pintoricchio and his assistants.*
1. *Ænea Piccolomini sets out for the Council of Basle.*
  2. *Ænea's Embassy to the King of Scotland.*
  3. *Ænea receives the Poet's Crown from Frederick III.*

4. *Enea's Embassy to Eugenius IV.*
5. *Enea presents Eleanora of Portugal to Frederick III.*
6. *Enea elected Cardinal.*
7. *Enea elected Pope.*
8. *Enea holds a Council at Mantua.*
9. *Enea canonises S. Catherine of Siena.*
10. *Enea awaiting the Ships of the Crusaders at Ancona.*

Over the door entering from the Cathedral.  
*Coronation of Pius III.*

1507—1508.

SPELLO. Church of S. Andrea.  
*Madonna and Saints.* The greater part painted by Eusebio di S. Giorgio.  
The round picture of the *Risen Christ* in front of the pulpit belongs to the top of this picture.

1507—1508.

SIFNA. Palazzo del Magnifico.  
Vault of a room with *Grotesques* and *mythological subjects*, partly destroyed.  
On the walls were frescoes by Luca Signorelli, Girolamo Genga, and Pintoricchio; some are lost, others are in the Siena Gallery, and in

LONDON. National Gallery.  
*Telmachus, Ulysses, and Penelope.* Fresco.

1508—1509.

ROME. S. Maria del Popolo.  
Vault of the choir. Ornamental division into architectonic compartments, with ornaments, and figures. In the centre *the Coronation of the Virgin*. Around this the *Four Evangelists with their symbols, four Sibyls, and four Fathers of the Church, Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory.* Fresco.

1508—1510.

NAPLES. Royal Museum.  
*Assumption of the Virgin.* Altar-piece, the greater part by Eusebio di S. Giorgio.

BERLIN. Gallery.  
Reliquary, with *S. Augustine, S. Benedict, and S. Bernard of Clairvaux.* Small panel.

1511—1512.

S. GIMIGNANO. Palazzo Comunale.  
*The Madonna in Glory with St. Gregory the Great, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux.* Altar-piece.

1513.

MILAN. Borromeo Collection.

*Christ bearing the Cross.* Small panel, the cover of a book.

## DRAWINGS.

As with the paintings, we exclude from this catalogue all drawings which we do not consider to be by the master, including the head of a youth at Darmstadt, which we believe to be a forgery. This is mentioned in the text.

BERLIN. Print Room.  
*Moses.*

CHATSWORTH. Duke of Devonshire's Collection.  
*Enea Silvio Piccolomini before Eugenius IV.*

FLORENCE. Uffizi Gallery.  
*Women with a Cornucopia.*  
*Enea Silvio Piccolomini setting out for the Council of Basle.*  
*S. Jerome.*  
*Woman with a Vase.*  
*Women seen from behind.*  
*Virgin and Child.*  
*Hercules and the Centaur.*  
*Angel.*

FRANKFORT-ON-THE MAIN. Städcl Institute.  
*Virgin and Child.*

LILLE. Wicar Collection.  
*Coronation of S. Nicolas.\**

MILAN. Ambrosiana Library.  
*Angel.*

OXFORD. University Galleries.  
*Adoration of the Shepherds.*  
*Virgin and Child with Infant S. John.*

PARIS. Louvre.  
*Group of Soldiers.*  
*Virgin and Child.*

VENICE. Royal Galleries.  
Sketch Book formerly belonging to Giuseppe Bossi, containing many original drawings by Pintoricchio, and others copied by him from the works of Justus of Ghent, Perugino, Luca Signorelli, Mantegna, Pollajuolo, &c.

VIENNA. Albertina.  
*Assumption.*  
*Virgin and Child between SS. Bonaventura and Francis.*  
*Holy Conversation.*

\* Another drawing at Lille of four figures seated at a table, and one standing, is also attributed to Pintoricchio, but we do not believe it to be his.

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